THE HERODS

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INTRODUCTION

"Judæi, dum Assyrios penes Medosque et Persas
Oriens fuit, despectissima pars servientium."

—TACITUS, *Hist.* v. 8.

THE history of the Herods is full of interest. It involves the record of great vicissitudes. It furnishes points of contact with the annals of various nations alike of the East and West. It gives us a glimpse of many historic personages who played famous parts in the destinies of the world. It covers the period which witnessed the consummation of a most memorable epoch in the long and varied fortunes of the Jewish people. The story of the Herodian race during five generations is coincident with events of unparalleled importance to the human race. During their dominance occurred the culmination of the Pharisaic system, which had derived its first impulse from the reformation of Ezra; and the commencement of the Rabbinic Talmudism, which was the final atrophy of exaggerated legalism. The Herods exercised an influence in the

extinction of Roman liberty, and the subjugation of Europe and Asia under the iron yoke of Roman Imperialism. They gave a powerful impulse to the political movements which ended in the utter effacement of every shadow of Jewish independence. They had much to do with the events which marked the close of the Old Dispensation; they witnessed and had their share in the changes which inaugurated the New. The years of the Son of God on earth were spent under the sway of three Herodian princes. His infancy narrowly escaped the massacre dictated by the ruthless jealousy of the first Idumæan king; the place chosen for the predestined home of His childhood was decided by the dread inspired by the cruel tyranny of the second (Archelaus); the third (Herod Antipas) was the murderer of His kinsman and forerunner, and, after the frustration of attempts to seize His person, took part in His cruel mockery and precipitated His earthly doom. The fourth (Agrippa I.) imprisoned and beheaded His chief Apostles, and scattered His disciples from Jerusalem to preach the Gospel to all the world. The fifth (Agrippa II.) listened to the defence of the greatest early convert to His faith, and jestingly professed to be half ready to assume that designation of its votaries, which in those days had almost become the synonym of "evil-doer."* Herod Agrippa II. was in the camp of the beleaguerers

* *See* Acts xxvi. 28; 1 Pet. ii. 12; iii. 16; *comp.* 2 Tim. ii. 9.

who massacred myriads of the last Jewish patriots and committed the Temple to the flames. There was scarcely one of the Herodian dynasty who did not take a share, more or less direct, in the events which history has commemorated among the earliest annals of the Kingdom of Heaven.

But it will be hardly possible to enter intelligently into the story of the family thus called upon to exercise so large an influence over the destinies of mankind, without a retrospective glance at the events which rendered possible in Judæa their alien and execrated dominion. The history of the Herods is only intelligible as a sequel to the history of the Asmonæan dynasty. It is the περιπέτεια, the *dénouement*, of the changed aspect of Judaism which first appeared in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah, and the doom of which was sealed by the Crucifixion, and consummated in the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus.

THE HERODS.

CHAPTER I.

The Jews after the Babylonish Captivity.

"History is a civil theology of the Divine Providence."—Vico.

The year B.C. 598 witnessed "the beginning of the end" of the Davidic era, in the occupation of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, and the carrying away of the Jewish King Jehoiachin into the exile from which he never returned. In B.C. 586 the Temple of Solomon was reduced to ruins, and Jerusalem made a desolation. Zedekiah, the last king of Judah, had been miserably put to death, and the mass of the people had been deported into Babylonia. After this the glory of Babylon was short-lived. In 555 Nabonaid, the last Babylonian king, had ascended the throne, and in 538 was defeated by Cyrus, who took peaceful possession of the hundred-gated city. Palestine then became a province of Persia. But Cyrus, as a monotheist,* felt much sympathy with the Jews, and as "the Lord's anointed"† had allowed as many of the exiles as longed for their home, to return to Jerusalem under Zerubbabel and Jeshua. There they had free leave to rebuild their Temple, and to save their nationality from being obliterated by absorption into the

* *See* Herodotus i. 131: "They have no images of the gods."

† Isa. xlv. 1: "Cyrus is my shepherd and shall perform all my pleasure" (Isa. xliv. 28).

heterogeneous mass of the Persian Empire.* But during the long years of exile the main body of the Jews had taken up their position as peaceable settlers in Babylonia; and however bitterly the more earnest patriots and the more faithful worshippers among them may have felt the misery of banishment from their Holy Land and venerated Temple, multitudes of them had employed themselves in the commerce for which they began to develop a national capacity.† Rich and secure, they were "unwilling to relinquish their property," and did not care to face the hardships and perils of the tedious caravan journey across the wilderness, and the struggles of a new settlement among jealous rivals in an impoverished, oppressed, and desolated province. Out of the whole number of exiles only 42,360 Hebrews, with 7337 servants, returned. The Talmudists say that those who returned—the *Beni Haggola*, or "sons of the exile," compared with those who stayed behind, were but as the chaff to the wheat; yet undoubtedly they must have been the most pious and patriotic of the Exiles.‡ They were nearly all inhabitants of Judæa, though doubtless there must have been among them some representatives of the Ten Tribes who had not lost their genealogies.§

* Josephus, *Antt.* xi. 1, 2; Isa. xliv. 28; xlv. 1.

† Up to the Exile the Jews had been almost exclusively an agricultural people. The word used for "merchant" was "Canaanite," and a quarter of Jerusalem called "The Mortar" (Maktesh, Zeph. i. 11) was set apart for their trade. After the Exile agriculture fell into disrepute, and some of the Rabbis spoke of it with open contempt as a profitless occupation. One quotation (Yebamoth, lxiii. 1) may suffice: "A hundred Zouzim spent in commerce will procure meat and wine; a hundred used in farming will only produce salt and vegetables."

‡ Ezra ii. 1-60. The feelings of the true Jews find an echo in such Psalms as cii., cxxxvii., etc., and in the Lamentations. Yet the Targumists speak of the returning exiles as mainly "foundlings, proselytes, and bastards" (Deutsch, *Remains*, 326). Of the twenty-four courses of priests only four returned—4000 Priests, 74 Levites, 128 Singers.

§ Such as Anna, the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Asher (Luke ii. 36). The totals of the numbers given by Ezra and Nehemiah are 29,810 and 39,889. The Jews say that the rest were from the Ten Tribes. They carried back with them 5499 of the Temple vessels which are all recorded—even twenty-nine knives.

It is from this time that the names "Israelites" and "Hebrews" disappeared. The name "Jews"—born, as Josephus says, on the day they came from Babylon—henceforth continues to be the designation of the nation through all remaining centuries, and becomes the sole title of the Chosen People. Those who remained behind, together with the ever-increasing multitudes who from this time forward began to be disseminated through all the chief cities of the habitable world, were known as "the Diaspora" * or Dispersion.

Zerubbabel, or Shesbazzar, the "Pechah,"† or Persian governor of the wretched and struggling province, was the son of Shealtiel, and if not the direct lineal descendant, was at any rate the representative of the ancient line of kings.‡ Under his rule the exiles assembled "as one man" at Jerusalem, and there, under the ministry of Jeshua, the High Priest, reared the altar in the seventh month (Tisri or Ethanim).§ Aided by the edict of Cyrus, which ordered that every assistance should be given them, they began to prepare materials for rebuilding the Temple. The next year (B.C. 535), amid the blowing of rams' horns and silver trumpets, and the chanting of the Levitic choirs (*comp.* 2 Chron. v. 11-14), they laid the foundation of the Temple; and the pathetic incident is recorded that, while the men of the younger generation shouted for joy, their exultant cheers were mingled with the sobbing and wailing of those older survivors of the Exile who recalled the Solomonian Temple, with its gold and cedar work,

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* James i. 1; 1 Pet. i. 1.

† The names "Pechah" and "Tirshatha" are both given to Zerubbabel and to Nehemiah (Ezra ii. 63; Nehem. vii. 63; x. 1, etc.). A "governor" of this kind was not of so high a grade as a satrap.

‡ On Zerubbabel's place in the House of David *see* Davison *On Prophecy*. The name means "Begotten in Babylon." In 1 Chron. iii. 19 he is called the son of *Pedaiah*, who was Shealtiel's brother. It is nearly certain that Shealtiel himself was childless, but Zerubbabel as his legal heir was regarded as the *Nasi*, or Prince of the Captivity (afterwards called *Rhesa*).

§ Ezra iii. 1-7.

"exceeding magnifical of fame and glory over all the earth." *

But the children of the captivity were a small and despondent band, and amid the suspicions and menaces of the Samaritans and other neighbours, who were constantly making secret or open delations of them to the Persian satraps, the work made no progress. Zerubbabel himself seems to have sunk into apathy, and it was even suspected that the cedar-wood prepared for the Temple was alienated to private houses. Drought and dearth, to which Haggai pointed as proofs of the wrath of Heaven, added to the misery of the colonists.† Succumbing to a profound sense of discouragement, which the prophets could only partially dispel, they suffered every effort to languish, left the Temple unfinished, and did not even rebuild the ruined walls of Jerusalem.

Great hopes had been formed of the Pechah. Was he not a prince of the House of David? Haggai had bidden him be strong, and had promised that the glory of the latter house should be greater than the glory of the former, and that the prince should be as a signet of the Lord on the day when he would overthrow the thrones of the Kingdoms.‡ But Zerubbabel personally seems to have disappointed the high expectations which had been formed of him. Though his wisdom is commemorated in the Book of Esdras and by Josephus,§ there is reason to believe that he deserted the fortunes of the renascent people. With the members of his family, he pusillanimously returned to Babylon—so says the Jewish legend—and died there.‖ Shortly after Haggai's retirement, a much younger man, Zechariah, began to

* 1 Chron. xxii. 5.

† Haggai i. 1-11; ii. 14-18; Zech. viii. 9-13.

‡ Haggai ii. 20, 23.

§ Josephus, *Antt.* xi. 3-4; 1 Esdras iii.-vii. Here the great maxim, "Great is Truth, and it will prevail," which gained him the name of the wisest man in the court of King Darius, is attributed to Zerubbabel.

‖ Seder Olam (Derenbourg, p. 20).

prophesy, and he seems to have transferred all the hopes which once centred in Zerubbabel (iv. 19, 10), to Jeshua the Priest, whom alone he mentions in chap. iii. 1.* Be that as it may, from this time forward the House of David dwindles into obscurity and insignificance. It is only alluded to as a vanished glory, and in connection with a future Messianic hope. The representative of the House and lineage of David, five centuries later, was Joseph, the poor village carpenter of despised Galilee. A generation or a century after the return of Zerubbabel, Malachi, the last of the Old Testament prophets, has not a word to say of David or his family. The descendants of Zerubbabel are no longer regarded as of any importance. The dominance of priests has been established, and in accordance with the bad record of them from the beginning to the end of Jewish history—a bad record scarcely broken by a single exception—they had already sunk into condemnation as selfish, indolent, and avaricious men.†

The struggling colony derived a new impulse from the advent of Ezra the Scribe (*Sopher*), a great-grandson of Hilkiah, who had been High Priest in the reign of Josiah. In B.C. 457 a second caravan of Exiles had been permitted to return under his guidance, and 1500 families had met him on the bank of the river Ahava. On his invitation they were reinforced by 38 Levites and 220 Nethinim from Casiphia.‡ He found that during the sixty unrecorded years since we hear last of Zerubbabel's colonists, the people had fallen into material misery and moral degradation. All traces of "the holy seed" seemed likely to be effaced in consequence of the growing multitude of mixed marriages of Jews and heathens. Ezra laboured among the oppressed

* Ewald and Hitzig, however, conjecture that the name of Zerubbabel has disappeared from the passage about the *two* crowns (Zech. vi. 11).

† Mal. i. 6; ii. 1 (*see* 1 Sam. i. 3); 1 Kings xii. 6; Isa. x.-xiv. 2; xxviii. 7; Jer. ii. 8; vi. 13; v. 31; viii. 10; xiii. 13; xxxii. 32; Ezek. xxii. 26; Micah iii. 11; Zeph. iii. 4, etc.

‡ Ezra viii. 1-20.

colonists for thirteen years (B.C. 458-445), but the work of reform and restoration still continued slack till he was reinforced in B.C. 444 by the burning energy of a new colleague. Nehemiah, the cupbearer of Artaxerxes had been appointed Tirshatha, and he struck lightning into the minds of the somnolent and unfaithful Jews. Owing to the enthusiasm which he inspired, and the spirit of mutual co-operation which he awakened, the walls which had been lying in ruins for a hundred and fifty years were reared in fifty-two days. He also built or rebuilt "the fortress" (Heb. *Birah*), close beside the Temple, which is so often mentioned in the History of Jerusalem, in the Maccabæan Age, under the name of Baris and Akra.* An immense reform was effected; the Temple services were thoroughly reorganised; the Old Testament Scriptures were publicly read and expounded. The people bound themselves by a solemn league and covenant to keep the Law; † and, if we may trust the Jewish tradition, a Great Synagogue of 120 Elders ‡ (*Keneseth Haggedolah*), of which the first assembly is said to have included the Prophets Haggai and Zechariah, as well as Ezra, was appointed to protect the interests of the Mosaic religion, and to "make a hedge about the Law."§ The existence of the Great

* Nehem. ii. 8; vii. 2.

† Nehem. vii.-xii.; 1 Macc. ii. 4; 2 Macc. ii. 13.

‡ Συναγωγὴ μεγάλη, 1 Macc. xiv. 18. On the Great Synagogue *see* especially Herzfeld, *Gesch.* i. 389, and paragraph in Geiger, *Urschrift*, 398. Taylor's *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, Exc. ii. Our information about this body comes from the *Pirke Aboth* (*Sayings of the Fathers*), where the members are said to have handed on the oral tradition of the Law; but this evidence is five centuries after the death of Simon the Just, who is called the last Member of the Great Synagogue. Since it is not mentioned in the Old Testament, the Apocrypha, Philo, or Josephus, many doubt whether it ever existed. Talmudic allusions constantly confuse all chronology and rest on mere idealism. *See* Edersheim, *History of the Jewish People*, Append. II.; Kuenen, *Religion of Israel*, E.T., iii. 5-19.

§ The Talmud says (Midrash Rabba, Ruth ii. 4; Megila i. 5) that the first assemblage consisted of eighty-five (Nehem. x. 1-28), among whom were thirty prophets; and that they drew up the eighteen benedictions and many ritual regulations. They continued, it is said, till about B.C. 292. They were succeeded by the Sanhedrin, who sat in the Lishcath Haggazzith, or "paved hall," in the Temple Court.

Synagogue is now believed to be a dream or an ecclesiastical fiction, but from the mechanical adoration of the Torah sprang "a new and artificial Israel."

From this era we must date the beginning of Judaism in the modern sense of the word. Ezra the aged scribe and Nehemiah the young layman, half warrior half statesman, left the deep impress of their individuality upon the political and religious life of the nation. To Ezra and Nehemiah are traditionally assigned the collection of the Old Testament Canon (2 Macc. ii. 13), and the transference of the chief guidance of the nation from rulers and priests to Scribes and Lawyers. From this period began that elaborate network of conventionalism which degraded the spiritual religion of the great Hebrew Prophets into a religionism of observances—a formalising externalism which was ultimately guilty of the destruction of the nation and the murder of its true Messiah. This was the atrophy of religion into the infinite pettiness of scrupulosity about phylacteries and fringes, rubrics and ablutions, against which our Lord repeatedly "broke into plain thunderings and lightnings," and which so moved His utter indignation as to cause Him to blight the "Scribes and Pharisees hypocrites," and the Lawyers also, with the terrible flashes of His sevenfold woe! Baruch (Jer. xxxvi. 4) is the first scribe of whom we hear, and Ezra (viii. 1) the next. The establishment of the Scribes, elders (*Zekenim*), and teachers,* whose authority gradually superseded that of all others, and who "sat in Moses' seat" (Matt. xxiii. 2, 3), was due mainly to the torpid officialism which made the priests useless for anything but outward functions. Thus Herod consults *the Scribes* as well as the High Priests (Matt. ii. 4). But the teaching of the Scribes soon became stereotyped and second-hand, and the people were quick to discern the gulf which separated their dull scholasticism from the teaching of

* Ezra viii. 16: *Mebînim*, A.V., "men of understanding." *See* on Ezra's reformation Josephus, c., App. I. 7; Baba Kama, 82, 2.

Him who "taught with authority and *not as the Scribes*" (Matt. vii. 29).

"The Law," says the Talmud, "was forgotten in Israel: Ezra came and re-established it." "Ezra would have been worthy to be the giver of the Law, had not Moses preceded him."* But Ezra, though of high-priestly origin, was not a High Priest, and was only known as "The Scribe." Jeshua was succeeded in the Pontificate by his son Joiada. The history of this period is a blank. We only know that Manasseh, son of Joiada, married the daughter of the Samaritan, Sanballat, and being expelled by Nehemiah from Jerusalem for this violation of the Law against heathen marriages, became the first High Priest of the rival Temple built by Sanballat on Gerizim, B.C. 322.† This sanctuary became the place of refuge of all malcontent Jews, and thus was deepened an irreconcilable hatred between Jews and Samaritans which was constantly exacerbated by acts of retaliation on both sides. It existed in the days of Christ, and continues to this day.‡

The fact that the High Priests followed each other by hereditary succession helped to make them forget the holiness of their functions. Even in Nehemiah's time the High Priest Eliashab had assigned a lodging in the Temple to his

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* Sanhedrin, 21, 2 ; Succa, 20, 1 ; Derenbourg, p. 22.

"The Rabbi in the Schools of Safed and Tiberias, the Cadi founding his verdicts on the Koran, the Imâm delivering his Friday sermon from the Midbar ; the clergy, doctors, pastors, teachers, evangelists—studying, preaching, converting, persuading—have their root not in Aaron's altar, not even in Samuel's choral school, but in Ezra's pulpit."—*Stanley.*

† Josephus, *Antt.* xi. 8, 1-3 ; Nehem. xiii. 28. But Josephus transfers the *building* of the Temple on Gerizim to B.C. 333.

‡ Matt. x. 5, 6 ; Luke ix. 52-54 ; x. 33 ; xvii. 18 ; John viii. 48. In the Old Testament the name "Samaritan" only occurs in 2 Kings xvi. 29. Their mixed worship is alluded to in 2 Kings xvii. 33. The mutual enmity began with the repudiation by the Jews of the Samaritan advances (Ezra iv. 1-5). The Samaritans have long been, as Dean Stanley said, "the oldest and smallest sect in the world," and amid the still undiminished hatred of the Jews (of which Frankel gives striking instances in his travels) they are dwindling every year, and will soon be extinct.

relative, the Ammonite Tobiah. The grandson of the High Priest Johanan acquired a melancholy notoriety. In the very Temple precincts he murdered his own brother, on suspicion that he was trying to supplant him—in an office which had now become an object of worldly ambition—by intriguing with Bagoses, the Persian general. In consequence of this murder Bagoses heavily taxed the Jews, and forced his way into the Holy Place, with the indignant remark that he could not be more unclean than the corpse of their murdered victim. The next High Priest was Jaddua, and his is the latest name mentioned in the Old Testament.* This brings us down to B.C. 333, for Jaddua was the High Priest who is said to have met Alexander the Great on his legendary visit to Jerusalem. At his feet (as Edwin of Deira at the feet of Paulinus in the similar legend) the great Macedonian is said to have prostrated himself, because he had seen him in a vision, and received from him the promise of victory. Jaddua is said to have confirmed his prediction of Alexander's successes by showing to the Greek king the Old Testament prophecies respecting him.† Recent historians reject this story as a fiction, and do not even refer to it in their narratives of the conquests of Alexander. To Jaddua's brother, Manasseh, is ascribed by Josephus the building of the Samaritan Temple on Mount Gerizim.

The change which the Jews had undergone in the land of their Babylonish Exile during two generations, is one of the most memorable in history. It profoundly affected their own destinies and the destinies of the world for all after

* Nehem. xii. 10, 11. The history of the century between Nehemiah and Jaddua is almost a blank.

† Josephus, *Antt.* xi. 8. The story is also told with material variations in the Talmud (Note to Megillath Taanith, Bereshith Rabba, lxi.; Sanhedrin, xci. 1, etc.; Herzfeld, i. 400; Derenbourg, pp. 41-44; Schürer, Div. I. vol. i. 187; Hamburger, ii. *s.v. Alexander der Grosse;* Reuss, *Old Testament*, § 426.

ages. "What was the influence brought to bear upon the captives during that time we know not," says Dr Emmanuel Deutsch; "but this we know, that from a reckless, godless, lawless populace, they returned transformed into a band of Puritans." Until their banishment they had, in age after age, and under king after king, succumbed to the seductions of idolatry, and had either been entirely ignorant of some of the main provisions of the Mosaic Law, or had suffered its most essential ordinances to sink into utter desuetude. Henceforth the great body of the nation became absolute Zealots, not only of the written but of the oral law; they submitted themselves abjectly to the yoke of their religious casuists, and, to the equal extinction of all true spiritual religion, substituted the idolatry of the dead letter, and of mechanical external functions, to the old idolatry of the graven and molten images which they had flung to the moles and to the bats.

CHAPTER II.

The Jews under Ptolemies and Seleucids.

"I will give it into the hands of strangers for a prey."—Ezek. vii. 21.

Thus within two centuries after the return of the Exiles under Zerubbabel, we find the Jews without a king; indifferent to the descendants of David; speaking the Aramaic dialect which had displaced their ancient Hebrew; and in possession of the Old Testament of which the Canon was practically the same as now. But, like Philo, they paid a hundredfold more attention to the minutiæ of the Law than to the grandest spiritual lessons of the Prophets. We find them under a sort of autocracy of High Priests, but more and more influenced by the Scribes and teachers of the Law, who were the predecessors of the Pharisees and Rabbis. A book has practically become "their fatherland," * and they have become more and more what Mahomet afterwards called them, "the People of the Book." It is their main object to obey, not only in the letter but even in the numberless inferences gradually elaborated out of it — which the Talmudists themselves compared to a mountain suspended by a single hair †—every Halachah or "rule" which can be deduced inferentially from the Mosaic Law. "The hedge" which they thus constructed around the Law—the *Mish-*

* Heine.

† See Hausrath, *Neutest. Zeitgesch*, i. 103; E.T., *Pirke Aboth.* i. 1.

mereth (ordinance), which by exorbitant inferences they added to the Mosaic Mishmereth*—became a badge of rigid exclusiveness which separated them from every other nation, and filled them with the *odium humani generis* till at last, by the murder of the Lord of Glory, they showed the frightful blindness and callosity which always result from the substitution of outward functions for the religion of the heart. The triumph of Priestism involved, alas! the death of prophecy;† and step by step even the priests had to make room for the petty learning of the orthodox schoolmen. Books were considerably multiplied (Eccles. xii. 12), but literary conventionality did as little to replace the living flame of inspiration as care for ablutions and phylacteries did to replace the glow of spiritual religion. The religiosity of the nation dwindled more and more into what Dr Arnold calls "the deadliest error of human selfishness and stupidity —that it is our duty to preserve and not to improve." Letter-worship and verbal orthodoxy came to be more valued than justice, mercy, and truth.

But little remains to be told of the history of the Jews from B.C. 333 to B.C. 222, although (after B.C. 323), when the Empire of Alexander had been split up into the four kingdoms of his successors (the *Diadochi*), the possession of Palestine became a perpetual source of contention between the Seleucids of Antioch and the Ptolemies of Egypt. The country was first seized, together with Egypt, by Ptolemy Lagus; was torn from Ptolemy III. by Antiochus III., and recovered by Ptolemy at the battle of Raphia, B.C. 217. The hapless land became, to use the simile of Josephus, "like a ship in storm, tossed by the waves on both sides." ‡

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* Lev. viii. 35, etc.

† On the inevitable extinction of the free spirit of prophecy, *see* Ewald, E.T., v. 174-179. On our Lord's attitude to the Scribes, *see* Matt. vii. 29; xvii. 10; xxii.; Mark. i. 22; Luke v. 30, etc.

‡ *Antt.* xii. 3, 3; Herzfeld, *Gesch. d. Volkes Israel*, ii. After the Battle of Paneas, B.C. 198, Palestine passed to the Seleucids (Schürer, i. 1, 187.

Jaddua was succeeded in the High Priesthood (about B.C. 321) by Onias I., who died B.C. 300. He was succeeded by his son Simon the Just, on whose splendid and venerable figure the later Jews dwelt with delight.* The son of Sirach closes his list of the great heroes of Jewish History with Simon, clad in "the ideal of the pomp and majesty of a High Priest."†

"How was he honoured in the midst of his people
In his coming out of the sanctuary!
He was as the morning star in the midst of a cloud
And as the moon at the full:
As the sun shining upon the Temple of the Most High,
And as the rainbow giving light in the bright clouds;
And as the flower of roses in the spring of the year,
As lilies by the rivers of waters:
And as the branches of the frankincense-tree in the time of summer

. . . . . .

When he put on the robe of honour
And was clothed with the perfection of glory,
When he went up to the Holy Altar
He made the garment of holiness honourable,
When he took the portion out of the priests' hands
He himself stood by the hearth of the altar
Compassed with his brethren round about
As a young cedar in Libanus
And as palm-trees, compassed they him round about."

The affection with which the "Pious" of the nation

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* *Antt.* xii. 2, 5. Josephus, however, gives the name of "the Just" to the Maccabæan Simon.

† Eccles. i. 1-21. Among the other services which he rendered was the erection of costly buildings in Jerusalem and the Temple precincts (Ewald, v. 273). But we cannot be quite certain whether *this* Simon is intended, or Simon II. He is called the "son of *Nathaniah*," *i.e.* of Onias; but of Simon II. practically nothing is known. See the question fully examined by Dr Edersheim, *Speaker's Bible-Apocrypha*, ii. 6, 8. The *Pirke Aboth.* traces the oral law from Moses through the elders, the Prophets, the men of the Great Synagogue, Simon the Just, Antigonus of Socho, and "The Couples" (*Zougoth*).

lingered over the name of their last and worthy Pontiff of pure Aaronic descent is reflected in the Talmud. He is described as the last survivor of "The Great Synagogue," and it is said that it was through his prayer that Ptolemy Philopator was struck down on the pavement when he endeavoured to intrude into the Temple.* They attribute to him forty-eight years of rule, though he was really only High Priest for nine. They say that, during these years, on the Day of Atonement it was always the right hand of the priest which seized the lot of the goat destined for Jehovah; but afterwards sometimes the right, sometimes the left. In his time the red thread round the neck of the scapecoat for Azazel always grew white (in sign that the sins of the people were forgiven);† afterwards it sometimes grew white, and sometimes not. During his time the great lamp at the western end of the Temple always burnt bright: after his time it sometimes went out. During his time the wood on the altar always blazed and needed no more fuel: after his time the priests had constantly to bring fresh fagots.‡ Simon is said to have foretold his death, because a white-robed figure of an old man always appeared to him in the Holy of Holies, till one year when the figure came clothed in black, and accordingly Simon died seven days after the Feast of Tabernacles. One of his remarkable sayings was that "The Law, Worship, and Charity are the three pillars of the world."§

With him ended the purest glories of the priesthood. He was ultimately followed by his son Onias II., but, perhaps because he was under age at the time of his father's death,‖ he was preceded by Eleazar, a brother of Simon, and by Manasseh. It is said, however—and if this be accurate it is

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* 3 Macc. i. 28, 29; Euseb., *Chron*; Prideaux, *Connexion*, ii. 145.
† Isa. i. 18.
‡ Yoma, 5, 2, 29, 2; Menachoth, 109, 2; Derenbourg, p. 48.
§ *Pirke Aboth.* i.
‖ Josephus, *Antt.* xiii. 3, 1.

a significant sign of the changing tendencies of the nation—that Eleazar, though High Priest, did not succeed to the Presidency of the Sanhedrin, a post which was conferred on Antigonus of Socho.

Antigonus is a remarkable figure. The fact that he was the first leading Jew who bore a purely Greek name, is a sign of those Hellenising influences with which the Jews had already begun to be surrounded.* Already there were multitudes of Jews living in Egypt and round all the Mediterranean coasts, who, if they knew Hebrew at all, knew it only as a dead and learned language, and were glad to welcome the version of the sacred Books into Greek, called "the Septuagint" or translation of the seventy or seventy-two translators. This version began at Alexandria with the translation of the Pentateuch, about B.C. 284, in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. In the days of the Apostles it had acquired such universal currency that it forms the basis of most of the New Testament quotations from the Old Testament, even where it does not exactly represent the original Hebrew. Palestine was now surrounded by a cordon of Greek cities in which many Jews mingled freely with the heathen population. In Jerusalem itself we witness the growth of a wealthy and powerful party, in close alliance, alternately, with the Greek Kings of Syria and of Egypt. Fascinated by the attractions of Greek life and literature, they wished to adopt Hellenic ideals, and to obliterate the most essential distinctions of Jewish life and religion. This semi-faithless epoch was described as the "days of the mingling," and those who thus Græcised are characterised in the Books of Maccabees as "the ungodly."

Antigonus, in spite of his Greek name, had nothing to

* It is shown (1) partly by the infusion of Greek influences into Hebrew Literature (on which *see* Ewald, E.T., v. 255-268); (2) by the alteration of the Hebrew names into Greek form—Jesus into Jason, Eliakim into Alkimos, Hilkiah into Alexandros, etc.; and (3) by the attempt to introduce Greek gymnastic exercises, etc.

do with this apostate faction. He is the asserted founder of "the Traditions" of the Mishnic literature, and of the *Torah shebeal peh* or Oral Law as distinguished from the Written Law (*Torah shobekthab*).* He was the teacher of Zadok, from whom, according to one account, was derived the name of the Sadducees. His traditional saying is preserved in *Pirke Aboth.* i. 3: "Be not like servants who serve their Lord for the sake of reward, but like servants who serve without thought of reward: and the fear of heaven be over you." This maxim was distorted to mean that there were no future rewards or punishments, a view in which the Sadducees were confirmed by the silence respecting the future life in the law of Moses.

When Manasseh died, B.C. 250, Onias II. at last succeeded to the High Priesthood of his father. He was intensely avaricious, and refused to pay to the Kings of Egypt the moderate tribute of twenty talents a year, which was all that they demanded, for the whole nation. When the arrears amounted to 480 talents, Ptolemy III. (Euergetes) threatened to depopulate the whole of Palestine, and recolonise it with Egyptian soldiers, if payment was not made. His wrath was averted by the subtle abilities of Joseph, the nephew of Onias, who, having vainly reasoned with the aged High Priest, went to Egypt, won all hearts by his accomplished and cosmopolitan Hellenism, and returned as farmer-general of the taxes, with 2000 soldiers, who enforced the tribute.

In B.C. 217 Onias II. died, and was succeeded by Simon II., who in B.C. 195 was followed by the virtuous Onias III.†

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* Moses (said the Rabbis) received two laws (oral and written) on Sinai. The Mishnah is called *Halachah le-Moshch me-Sinai* (Berachoth, f. 5, 1; Gittin, f. 6, 2, etc.). "The law on the lip" includes the *Halachoth* (rules), *Midrashim* (expositions), *Haggadoth* (moral legends, etc.), and the Talmud (Shemoth Rabba, 47). On the Sadducees, *see Antt.* xiii. 5, 9, and 10, 6; *B. J.*, ii. 8, 14.

† *See* 2 Macc. iii. 1.

In his Pontificate the Jews, indignant at Egyptian oppression, definitely accepted the advances of Antiochus the Great, who, after the defeat of Scopas and the Egyptians at Paneas (B.C. 198) annexed Coele-Syria and Palestine to his dominions.* At this time a priest named Simon, who was Captain of the Temple, was resisted by Onias for his illegal exactions. In revenge he informed Apollonius, the Governor of Coele-Syria, under Seleucus Philopator—who had succeeded his father Antiochus the Great, B.C. 187—of the vast wealth in the Temple Treasury. Seleucus, whose resources were exhausted by the huge annual tribute of 1000 talents which he had to pay to the Romans, sent Heliodorus to plunder the Temple. The vision which terrified Heliodorus is narrated in the Second Book of Maccabees (iii. 4-10; *see* Dan. xi. 20), and by Josephus (*Antt.* xiii. 3, 3); but there are reasons to suspect that the superstitious panic of the Syrian treasurer had its origin in a skilful device of the priests at Jerusalem.†

The First Book of Maccabees (xii. 5-23) preserves a letter written by the High Priest Onias III. to an unknown "Areus," "Oniares," or "Darius," King of the Spartans, who had read in a book that the Spartans were descendants of Abraham. The reply of the Jews to these famous unknown brethren is also given. Josephus probably borrows his references to the matter from the Book of Maccabees; but no such King of the Spartans is known to history, and the conjecture of Michaelis is that *Spartiatai* is a corruption for *Spardiatai*, the inhabitants of *Sepharad*, a country

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* Scopas, acting for the young Ptolemy Epiphanes, had taken Jerusalem, B.C. 200, and treated the inhabitants with great severity. Antiochus promised to restore Palestine to Egypt as part of the dower of his daughter Cleopatra, whom he betrothed to Ptolemy. *See* Dan. xi. 10, *ff.*; Josephus, *Antt.* xii. 3, 3.

† *See* 2 Macc. iii. 7-40. Many similar Greek and Roman stories detail the supernatural punishment of the sacrilegious (Cic., *De. Div.* i. 81), and priests have naturally defended their temples by such devices (Herod., viii. 37-39; Pausan., x. 23).

mentioned in Obadiah xx. This is plausible, for Jerome places Sepharad in Crimean Tartary, where there may have been a Jewish colony under a local king.* There may possibly be a confusion between two stories.

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* *Anmerkungen-zu dem ersten Buch der Macc.*, 263, *ff.*; Jahn, *Hebr. Comm.* § xci. The old Latin versions and Josephus call the "Spartan" king "Arius"; but all other authorities read "Darius." Perhaps the true reading is *Areus*, and the reference to a grandson of Cleomenes II., who reigned B.C. 309-365. *See* Grimm, *Zu Macc.* p. 183. On Onias II., *see* 2 Macc. xv. 12-16. The reading Oniares is a corruption of Oniæ Areius. For fuller information on this curious question *see* Bishop Westcott's article on "Spartans," in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible.*

CHAPTER III.

The Jews under Antiochus Epiphanes.*

"In the latter time of these kingdoms when the transgressors are come to the full, a king of fierce countenance and understanding dark sentences shall stand up, . . . and he shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper . . . . but he shall be broken without hand."—Dan. viii. 23-25.

"A wicked root."—1 Macc. i. 10.

Seleucus Philopator was poisoned by Heliodorus, who attempted to usurp the Syrian crown (B.C. 176), since the King had sent his son Demetrius as a hostage to Rome.† But Antiochus, whose surname Epiphanes, "the illustrious," was often contemptuously changed into Epimanes, "the maniac,‡ easily drove out Heliodorus in B.C. 175, and succeeded to the Syrian throne which he so signally disgraced.§

The contemporary chapters of the Book of Daniel show

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* It may be useful to remember the following (approximate) dates:—Desecration of the Temple, B.C. 168 ; Revolt of Mattathias, B.C. 167 ; Judas defeats Gorgias and Lysias, B.C. 165 ; Re-dedication of Temple, B.C. 165 ; Death of Epiphanes, B.C. 163.

† Dan. ix. 26 ; xi. 20. The First Book of Maccabees is our chief authority for the forty years between B.C. 175-135.

‡ Polybius calls him Ἐπιμανὴ καὶ οὐκ Ἐπιφανὴ διὰ τὰς πράξεις, xxvi. 11 ; Athen, x. 439 ; Liv., xli. 20 ; Aelian, *Var. Hist.* ii. 41. The Jews seem to have nicknamed him אפומנמום (Megillath Taanith, iv. 6), which Ewald takes to mean αἰπύστομος, from his "mouth speaking great things" (Dan vii. 8).

§ Dan. xi. 21. The Second Book of Maccabees—an epitome of Jason of Cyrene—is our sole authority (in iii.-iv. 6) for the few years which precede the accession of Epiphanes.

us how large a part Antiochus played in the fortunes of the Jews* (B.C. 175-164). "His object was," says Tacitus, "to remove their superstition, to give them Greek customs, and thus to improve the characteristics of the most detestable race." †

The good Onias III. had a worthless brother named Jesus, who assumed the Greek name Jason, and flung himself heart and soul into the machinations of the Græcising faction.‡ Amid the tumultuous rivalry of parties at Jerusalem, Onias and Jason both sought the intervention of Antiochus. Despising all Jews alike—a contempt which he had learnt during his residence at Rome—the new Syrian King wished to gain money by selling offices. Jason, "that ungodly wretch," offered him an increased tribute of 360 talents from one source, and 80 talents from another. Tempted by this bribe, the Syrian madman revolutionised every tradition of Jewish history by deposing Onias from the lifelong office of the High Priesthood and substituting Jason in his place. This was the first precedent in history for an event which became exceedingly common under the Herodian rule.

The apostate Jason, not content with the vast bribe of increased tribute which he had promised to Antiochus, actually offered him 150 talents more for the privilege of building a Greek gymnasium at Jerusalem, and calling the Jews Antiochians! Even the priests frequented this highly popular gymnasium,§ and many Jews became so utterly and shamefully denationalised as to practise artificial means for effacing the marks of the national covenant of circumcision.‖

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* *See* Dan. ix. 27; xi. 36, 39; xii. 10, 11; Ewald, v. 293-306; Stanley, iii. 288, 352, and the articles on "Antiochus" in Herzog and Schenkel.

† Tac., *Hist.* v. 8.

‡ 2 Macc. iv. 8-9, 33, 34; Dan. ix. 26; xi. 22.

§ 2 Macc. iv.

‖ 1 Macc. i. 15. This method of producing ἀκροβυστία was called ἐπισπασμός, in Hebrew *mashook*. See Winer, *s.v. Beschneidung*; Celsus, *De Medic.* vii. 8; 1 Cor. vii. 18.

Nay more, they had so completely relapsed into indifferentism, that Jason ventured to send a Jewish deputation to the athletic games in honour of the god Melkarth at Tyre, with an offering of 330 talents to the heathen idol! * The deputation, however, did not dare to carry out his order, but devoted the money to "the making of galleys," *i.e.* as a contribution for the Syrian navy.

But in B.C. 172 Jason despatched to Antioch a deputy named Onias, who had Græcised his name into Menelaus. He is usually called a brother of Jason, and of Onias III., but it is unlikely that *two* brothers would have borne the same name, and he is also called a brother of Simon, the Governor of the Temple. Arrived at Antioch, he followed the bad precedent of Jason, and bought the High Priesthood for himself by offering to the king an increase of 300 talents in the tribute. To this man—the disgrace of the Pontificate—the Talmudic writings make hardly any allusion except to describe him as venal and murderous,† but the Second Book of Maccabees says that Menelaus "came, bringing nothing worthy of the High Priesthood, but having the fury of a cruel tyrant, and the rage of a savage beast." ‡ Jason spent the rest of his life in intrigue and exile, with the exception of one brief rush upon Jerusalem, where, after a massacre of his opponents, he blockaded Menelaus in the Akra. He finally died at Sparta, a foiled and despised outcast. "He that cast out many unburied had none to mourn for him, nor any solemn funerals at all, nor sepulchre with his fathers." §

Unable to pay the exorbitant bribes by which he had

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* 2 Macc. iv. 9, 18, 20. The Hellenising party among the Jews was known as "the sons of Tobias," Josephus, *Antt.* xii. 5, 1. A certain obscurity attaches to the name. *See* Ewald, iv. 309.

† He may not have been of priestly lineage at all (2 Macc. iv. 23). Derenbourg (p. 54) quotes Vayyika Rabba, xxi.; Yoma, i. 1; Pesachim, § 57, 1.

‡ 2 Macc. iv. 25.

§ *Ibid.* v. 5-10.

purchased the holy office which he so fearfully debased, Menelaus—being summoned to Antioch—induced his *sagan* (or "deputy") Lysimachus, to plunder the Temple of some of its golden vessels, and to sell them at Tyre, in order to raise the sum required. Among these treasures was a golden candelabrum, so precious that afterwards the Asmonæan princes, unable to replace it, substituted for it one of iron and wood. This robbery roused the indignation of the people of Jerusalem, and Lysimachus, in spite of his three thousand soldiers, was murdered in the Temple Treasury. The true High Priest, Onias III., who was detained at Antioch, bitterly reproached Menelaus for such an act of sacrilege, and then, dreading his vengeance, fled to the sanctuary of Daphne. But, at the instigation of the priestly usurper, Andronicus, who was viceroy in the king's absence, lured Onias from the shrine and murdered him—a crime for which he himself was executed by the indignant king (B.C. 175). *

The subsequent years were years of overwhelming tragedy and persecution for the miserable Jews.† Antiochus, in revenge for the outbreak caused by the High Priest's robbery of the Temple, took Jerusalem, plundered it, massacred 80,000 people, and sold 40,000 into slavery. Guided by Menelaus, he plundered the Temple even to its subterranean vaults, carrying off 1800 talents of gold. He then sacrificed swine on the altar, boiled the flesh, and sprinkled the sacred precincts with the broth. During these frightful profanations the wicked Menelaus, by intrigue and bribery, contrived to keep his office, in spite of the undying hatred which he had kindled, and the bitter accusations against him and his following of renegade Jews, which were poured into the ears of the Syrian tyrant. It was during this period of "the mingling," as it is called in Jewish traditions, that the party of the Assidæans—*i.e.* the

* 2 Macc. iv. 27-42.

† Diod., *Sic.*, xxvii. 75, 77. Josephus, *B. J.*, i. 1-2; 1 Macc. i. 17-18; 2 Macc. v. 1. *Comp.* Dan. xi. 23-40.

Chasidim, "the Pious," or the Zealots for the Law—grew in secret strength and determination. They cherished the resolve to resist to the death the Rashaim, or "ungodly," by which term they designated the party of Jason and Menelaus, and all the Græcising apostates. It was from the Chasidim that the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes took their origin; for, widely as they differed in their religious views, they were all faithful in their allegiance to the Jewish nationality and the Mosaic Law.

The one most cherished object of Antiochus was to avail himself of the disorganisation in the royal family of the Ptolemies, and so to get possession of Egypt. He conducted four campaigns against that country (B.C. 171-188). A dim outline of the distracted fortunes of the two kingdoms may be gained from Dan. xi. But at last the designs of the Syrian usurper received a decisive check. In his third invasion of Egypt he advanced as far as Leusine, four miles from Alexandria.* Here he was met by Caius Popilius Lænas, the ambassador of the Roman Senate, whose intervention had been sought by the helpless Ptolemy Physcon. The Senate commanded Antiochus to leave Egypt on pain of war with Rome.† When the King met the ambassador he held out his hand in token of friendship to Popilius, whom he had known in Rome. Popilius coldly ignored the greeting, and handed to Antiochus the mandate of the Senate. Antiochus read it, and said that he would discuss it with his Council before giving his answer. Then Popilius, with the splendidly self-confident audacity which marked the envoys of Rome, drew a circle in the sand with his staff round the

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* Antiochus captured Ptolemy Philometor, whereupon the Egyptians made Ptolemy Physcon king. The reconciliation of the two brothers thwarted his plans. The four sections of his reign are indicated down to B.C. 167 in Dan. xi. 21-24, 25, 28, 29-39, 40-45; Ewald, v. 296.

† The Romans were emboldened by the recent defeat of King Perseus at Pydna, June 22, B.C. 168. Antiochus had already been checked by "the ships of Chittim," *i.e.* the Roman and Rhodian fleets.

spot where the great Syrian dynast stood, and said,* "*Before you step out of this circle, you must decide.*" Antiochus, awestruck by the grandeur of the Roman power, agreed to retire, and then Popilius shook him by the hand.†

But in the rage and bitterness of his heart at this humiliation, he determined (B.C. 168) that on Palestine at least he would wreak the full vengeance of his tyranny.‡ He accordingly despatched his tribute-collector Apollonius to Jerusalem (B.C. 167) with 22,000 men, and with orders to inflict on the city a general massacre. The peril is said to have been portended by visions of fiery soldiers, and battles in the clouds, for forty days.§ The horror of the epoch is reflected alike in the Book of Daniel and in the Psalms of Solomon. On the first Sabbath after his entry, Apollonius sent his soldiers to cut down all the men, and sell the women and children into slavery. The streets ran with blood; the city was sacked and burnt; Nehemiah's wall was demolished; the Temple was desolated, and the Akra or Baris was strongly fortified.‖ This fortress dominated the Temple, so that all worship there was forbidden and rendered impossible. In June the daily sacrifice ceased, and the city was deserted by all its inhabitants, except those who were ready to apostatise.¶

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* Ἐνταῦθα βουλεύου, "Come to your decision here" (Polyb., xxxix. 11; Diod., xxxi. 2; Liv., xiv. 12; Appian, *Syriaca*, 66; Justin., xxxiv. 3; Dan. xi. 29; Schürer, i. 1, 205).

† Dan. xi. 40-44; Polybius, *Legat.* 90, 92; Liv., xliv. 14; Justin., xxxiv. 2, 3; Val. Max., vi. 4, 3; Vell. Paterc., i. 10; Plutarch, *Apophthegm* xxxii.; Diod. Sic., *Frag.* xxv. All these with other authorities are quoted by Jahn, § xciv.

‡ Dan. xi. 30. Just before it says "His heart is against the holy covenant" (1 Macc. ii. 3).

§ 2 Macc. v. 2-4. So in the last Jewish War (Tac., *Hist.* v. 13). "Visae per coelum concurrere acies, rutilantia arma," etc. (Josephus, *B.J.*, vi. 5, 3).

‖ This fortress is constantly referred to in 1 Macc. xiii. 49-52, and *passim*.

¶ Josephus, *Antt.* xii. 5, 4; *B.J.*, i. 1, 2; Tac., *Hist.* v. 8; Dan. viii.; ix.; 1 Macc. i. 41-53; 2 Macc. v. 27; vi. 2; Heb. xi. 35-38.

Antiochus now issued a decree that his entire dominions were to accept the Græco-Syrian religion. He chose for his favourite deity "a strange god whom his fathers knew not" (Dan. xi. 38, 39), namely Zeus Nikephoros, to whom he erected a temple at Athens. An old man named Athenæus was sent to instruct the people of Jerusalem in the new faith. The Temple of Jerusalem was dedicated to Zeus Olumpios, and that on Gerizim to Zeus Xenios. The Temple was again polluted by offerings of swine and the rites of Astarte. All Jews who refused to partake of the heathen offerings were put to death. It became a capital crime to circumcise children, or keep a copy of the Law.* A small altar, "the abomination of desolation,"† was built on the altar of burnt offering, and sacrifices to Zeus were offered upon it on December 25th, B.C. 168.‡ The Jews were ordered to walk in procession at the Feast of Bacchus, wearing crowns of ivy, and to accept the brand of an ivy leaf. And now began that remorseless persecution of the Chasidim which is alluded to in Daniel, and recorded in the Books of Maccabees, and in Josephus. The main incidents of this outbreak of cruelty were evidently prominent in the mind of the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews (xi. 35, 38), which distinctly alludes to the fate of the brave mother and her seven sons, the torturing of the scribe Eleazar, and the miserable destitution to which the Pious were reduced.§

But the last hour of humiliation had struck, and the man was not wanting.

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* 1 Macc. iii. 48; 2 Macc. vii.

† *Shiqqoots Shomêm*, Dan. xi. 31; xii. 11.; βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως, Matt. xxiv. 15; Diod., *Sic.* xxxiv. 1.

‡ 1 Macc. i. 54, 59; Dan. ix. 27, and Matt. xxiv. 15. There was no statue of Zeus, but perhaps an eagle may have been carved on the "smaller altar," which may account for the word "kanaph," "the desolating *wing* of abomination." Antiochus might have utterly crushed the Jews if he had not been hampered for funds.

§ 2 Macc. v. 27; vii. *passim.*

CHAPTER IV.

Rise of the Asmoneans or Maccabees.

"By whose hand deliverance was given unto Israel."—1 Macc. v. 62.

In carrying out the King's proselytising edict Apollonius, that "lord of pollution" * had sent a commissioner, named Apelles, to the town of Modin, or Modeim, a town west of Jerusalem, visible from the sea, and apparently not far from Lydda.† The leading citizen of Modin at this time was Mattathias, a priest of the sacerdotal order of "Jehoiarib" (1 Chron. xxiv. 7), the first of the twenty-four orders of priests. Members of this family are always called in Jewish literature "the Asmonæans," from their great-grandfather Chasmon.‡ By liberal promises Apelles tried to induce the aged priest to offer sacrifice to the idol in compliance with the King's edict. Mattathias was a *Chasid*, and refused in a loud voice, that all might hear. And when one of the Rashaim, or apostate Jews, advanced to offer sacrifice, Mattathias, in a flame of zeal, like that of his ancestor Phinehas, carried out the Mosaic rule (Exod. xxii. 20; Deut. xiii. 6-9), and struck

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* The Greek word is "Mysarch" (A.V., "detestable ringleader"), but some interpret it "ruler of the Mysians."

† Perhaps Harbet el-Medijeh, not far from Lydda (Neubauer, *Georgr. Talmud*, 99; Conder and Kitchener, *Survey*. ii. 297).

‡ It has been thought strange that they should have derived their name from one so obscure. Herzfeld connects the name with Chasam, "to temper steel." Hitzig connects it with a town near Engedi.

him dead (B.C. 168).* That blow, in its age-long consequences, may rank with the blow of the Roman Senator at the Goth who had presumed to stroke his beard in the Roman Forum. Mattathias knew that matters would not end there, and believing that the time was come for armed revolt, he and his sons attacked and slew Apelles and his bodyguard. They then destroyed the idol-altar, and encouraged all who desired to be faithful to the religion of their forefathers to fly into the wilderness with the aged priest and all his family.†

A great disaster soon happened to the Chasidim. A thousand men had taken refuge in a cavern near Jerusalem, and were attacked on the Sabbath by Philip the Phrygian, Governor of Judæa. Interpreting with over-scrupulosity the rules of Sabbath observance, they would not even attempt to defend themselves, and were massacred to a man. After this disaster Mattathias and the Chasidim decided that, though they would make no *attacks* on the Sabbath, the Law did not forbid them to defend their lives.

Mattathias had five brave and distinguished sons; each of whom received a special surname. The eldest was Johanan *Kaddis;* the second Simon *Thassi;* the third Judas *Maqbî;* the fourth Eleazar *Avaran;* the youngest Jonathan *Apphus.*‡

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* Deut. xiii. 6, 9; Num. xxv. 7, 8; Ps. cvi. 30, 31; 1 Chron. xxiv. 7; Dan. xi. 32.

† On the whole rising, see 1 Macc. i. 55; ii. 66; 2 Macc. vi. 10; vii. 42; Dan. xi. 33, 35; xii. 1, 10. The destructive work of Antiochus in Jerusalem is constantly alluded to in the Psalms of Solomon, which originated at this epoch, and in the Book of Daniel, which, for more than fifty years, all the best critics have assigned, in its present form, to the Maccabæan epoch. Ewald says (v. 303): "It was at this crisis, in the sultry heat of an age then frightfully oppressive, that the book appeared with its sword-edged utterances, its piercing exhortation to endure in the face of the despot, and the promise of near salvation. No dew of heaven could fall with more refreshing coolness on the parched ground."

‡ Maccabee means "hammerer"; Chapphus, "the wary"; Thassi, "the increaser"; Avaran (more correct than Savaran), "the pale" (?); Kaddis, "the fortunate," or "the holy" (*see* 1 Macc. ii. 2-5). The explanations of the names are not certain. Some render Avaran, "the beast-sticker."

All fought heroically for their country; all came to violent ends on the field of battle, or by the treachery of their enemies.

Judas was slain in battle against Bacchides at Eleasa, near Beth-horon, B.C. 161.* Eleazar perished in a battle against Lysias at Beth-Zacharias, B.C. 163. In order to teach his countrymen not to fear the elephants of the Syrians, with their wooden towers full of soldiers, he crept under the largest elephant, on which he supposed the king to be sitting, stabbed it in the belly, and was crushed by its fall.† Simon (B.C. 134) was treacherously assassinated by his son-in-law Ptolemy, who was in league with Antiochus Theos;‡ Jonathan was entrapped by treachery into Ptolemais, and put to death by the perjured usurper Tryphon;§ Johanan fell in an ambush set against him by an Arab tribe. ‖

Mattathias when he died entrusted the rule of the Chasidim to Judas as the bravest of his sons, and to Simon as the wisest counsellor. His last speech to his sons is remarkable as containing the earliest known reference to the Book of Daniel.¶ Then began the guerilla warfare, with night attacks and surprises, in which Judas, with consummate skill, took city after city and earned the name *Maqbî*, which was attached in later ages to all his family and descendants. It is probably derived from *Maquabak*, a "hammer," and thus resembles the name Charles Martel, so called, says Mézeray, "à cause de la force de son courage, dont il rompit tant de nations."** But others derive it from the words which the soldiers are said to have had woven on their banner—*Mi Camo ka Baelim Yahveh* (Exod. xv. 11): "Who is like

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* 1 Macc. ix. 1-22. For his career, *see* ii., iii.-ix.

† *Ibid.*, vi. 19-51, 53; 2 Macc. xiii. 15-22.

‡ *Ibid.*, xv. 10 (*see* 1 Macc. xiii.-xvi. 16).

§ *Ibid.*, xiii. 23; 1 Macc. ix.-xii.

‖ *Ibid.*, ix. 35, 38; 2 Macc. viii. 22.

¶ *Ibid.*, ii. 60.

** Compare the titles *Malleus Scotorum*, &c.

unto Thee, O God among the gods?"* and others from the last letters of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob.† When his followers amounted to 6000 men he determined to take the field. He first defeated and slew Apollonius, the Governor of Samaria, whose sword he used ever afterwards. He next routed Seron, the General of Coele-Syria, at Beth-horon. Antiochus now determined to turn Jerusalem into "the Jews' burial-place," and sent his viceroy Lysias with an enormous army. Nicanor and Gorgias advanced against the Jews with 47,000 men, accompanied by 1000 slave-dealers, who were each to buy ninety slaves for a talent. Judas, after public prayer and an enthusiastic harangue at Mizpeh, in accordance with the Mosaic Law, sent home all who had recently planted vineyards, married wives, or were fearful. He was left with only 3000 ill-armed men.‡ Nevertheless, with these he rushed upon Nicanor and defeated him, and then surprised and committed to the flames the camp of Gorgias, in which the Jews took much booty of "gold and silver, and blue silk, and purple of the sea, and great riches" (B.C. 166). They sold the slave-dealers as slaves, and provided for the wounded, the widows, and the orphans. Judas next went across the Jordan and defeated two other generals, Bacchides and Timotheus, and with a small force routed the immense host of Lysias at Beth-zur, north of Hebron.§ After this, on Chisleu 25 (B.C. 165), he entered Jerusalem in triumph, restored and re-dedicated the Temple, purified it from heathen abominations, and founded the

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* This cannot be right, since the second letter is not כ but ק. Besides this, it was not originally the name of the family, but of Judas; nor can it be an abbreviation of Mattathias the Priest (Cohen) ben Johanan.

† Munk, *Palestine*, 495; Ewald, *Gesch.* iv. 403; Derenbourg, 58; Schürer, i. 1, 213.

‡ *See* 1 Macc. iii. 48-51, which shows the earnestness and pathos of their piety.

§ 1 Macc. iv. 28-35. Beth-zur, "the house of the rock," in Judah (Josh. xv. 58). It is still called Beit-sur.

Feast of Dedication (*Chanukka, Encaenia*).* All this was accomplished in three years. After chastising Joppa † and Jamnia, he defeated Timotheus in Gilead, and hurried back to avenge and repair the consequences of a defeat inflicted by Bacchides on the forces which he had left to protect Jerusalem. The discomfiture of this force was attributed by the Jews to secret apostasy.

Antiochus Epiphanes was prevented from coming in person to extirpate the Jewish race by the revolt which his attempt to enforce the Greek religion had created in Persia. He died in anguish and remorse at Tabae in Paratacene, on the frontiers of Persia (B.C. 163). He left his son Antiochus Eupator, aged nine, in the hands of Lysias. The viceroy—being again defeated by Judas at Bethsura,‡ distracted by the affairs of Syria, and influenced by the Roman ambassadors—made peace with the Jews on honourable terms, permitting them their ancient liberties. This was in B.C. 162, and this (says Wellhausen), "marks the proper end of the *religious* war of the Jews. Thereafter the occasion of conflict was not religious but *political*."

Harassed by the internal troubles in Judæa, and regarding the apostate High Priest Menelaus as the cause of them, Antiochus Eupator now put him to death. The mode of his death was cruel. He was flung head downwards into a tower full of ashes at Beroea. A dim legend of the Talmud seems to imply that he repented before his death. It says

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* John x. 22; 1 Macc. iv. 56, 59; 2 Macc. x. 5-7. It is called Dedication (*Chanukka*) in the Mishna. Josephus (*Antt.* xii. 7, 7) calls it "Lights" (τὰ φῶτα), *see* Edersheim, *The Temple*, 294. Some of the observances of the Feast resembled those of the Feast of Tabernacles. Judas made new holy vessels, but could only replace the candlestick by one of wood and iron.

† 2 Macc. xii.

‡ It was at a place called Beth-Zachariah (B.C. 163), about nine miles north of Beth-zur, that the heroic death of Eleazar Avaran occurred (1 Macc. vi. 43-48; *comp.* xiii. 15). Judas in a previous battle had already appointed him to read "his holy book," and given his name—"the help of God"—as the battle-cry (2 Macc. viii. 23).

that a certain Joseph Mechilta—which may have been the Hebrew name of Menelaus—received the order to enter first, when the enemy had determined to plunder the Temple, and was promised in reward whatever he should get out of the Temple. He entered, and took out the golden candelabrum. "This," he said, "is useless to an individual." They offered him a stupendous bribe to enter a second time; but he refused, saying, "It is enough to have offended God once; shall I do so a second time?" The Syrians therefore placed him on a carpenter's traverse and sawed him asunder. Jakim of Seredoth passed on horseback, one Sabbath, before the gibbet on which his uncle was about to be suspended. "See," he said, "the horse on which *my* master mounts *me*, and the one on which your master mounts you." "If those who offend God," answered Joseph Mechilta, "are so well treated, what treatment may they expect who do His will!" "Who has ever better fulfilled His will than you?" replied Jakim. "Well," answered Joseph, "if those who have done His will are thus chastised, what shall be the chastisement of those who offend Him?" The words darted through Jakim like an adder's poison, and he doomed himself to the four classes of punishment adopted by the Sanhedrin—stoning, fire, the sword, and strangulation. He affixed in the earth a stake, to which he attached a cord; he heaped up wood and surrounded it with a fence of stones; he fixed a sword in the midst of the wood, and put fire under the wood and stones. Then he hung himself. During his strangulation the fire burnt the rope; he fell into the flames, the sword pierced him, and the stones rolled over him. This Jakim is identified by Geiger with Alcimus, but his punishment resembles that inflicted on Menelaus.* But instead of appointing in his place the legitimate High Priest Onias, son of Onias III., Eupator appointed another

* *See* Geiger, *Urschrift*, 64; Derenbourg, 54. The passage quoted is in Bereshith Rabba, lxv.

alien from the sacred lineage in the person of Alcimus (or Jakim). On learning this, Onias gave up all hopes of ever succeeding to his rightful heritage, and took refuge in Egypt, where he persuaded Ptolemy Philometor to let him build the famous Beth Chonio, or "House of Onias," the Temple of Jehovah at Leontopolis, in the district of Heliopolis or On. This act he defended by quoting Isaiah xix. 18, 19.* The fact that he was the legitimate High Priest, and that Alcimus "had defiled himself wilfully in the times of the mingling with the Gentiles" † were all in favour of Onias. But although the Egyptian shrine of Jehovah never aroused the fierce antagonism excited by the Temple on Gerizim, it was looked upon with suspicion and dislike by the Palestinian Jews, and any priest who had served in it was forbidden to take part in the services of the true Temple. The shrine of Leontopolis lasted however for no less than 220 years, when Vespasian destroyed it in indignation for the rebellions of the Jews.‡

Bacchides established Alcimus in the High Priesthood, and the Persian general, together with the intruded priest, were guilty of great cruelties. When Judas once more advanced against the Holy City, Alcimus was compelled to fly. Demetrius had now become King of Syria, having defeated Lysias and Antiochus Eupator, and put them to death. He sent Nicanor with an army to reinstate Alcimus; but Judas defeated him at Capharsalama, and again at Adasa

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* "In that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan, and swear to the Lord of Hosts, and one shall be called 'The city of destruction.' In that day shall there be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt." Probably the *Kir-Cheres*, 'city of destruction,' in our Hebrew text was an intentional alteration introduced by Jewish hatred, for Kir-Heres, "the city of the sun" (On. Heliopolis), which is the reading of several MSS. of Symmachus and of the Vulgate. On the building of this Egyptian Temple, *see* Josephus, *Antt.* xiii. 3; *B. J.*, vii. 10. In Bab. Berachoth, § 109, 2, the building is wrongly attributed to Onias, son of Simon the Just.

† Josephus, *Antt.* xii. 5, 1; 2 Macc. xiv. 3.

‡ Ibid., *Antt.* xiii. 3, 1-3; xx. 10, 1; Jahn, § xcix.; Jost., i. 118.

near Jerusalem (B.C. 161).* The Talmud says that Nicanor used daily to wag his hand against Jerusalem and say "Oh when shall I be able to lay thee waste!" He was slain in battle, and Judas placed his head and right arm—the Talmud says "his trunk and great toes"—over the gate which was thenceforth called "the Gate of Nicanor."† "Nicanor's Day" (Adar, March 13) was kept as an annual festival.‡

Judas now took a step of tremendous importance on which hinged the entire future history of Judæa. In order to shake off the Syrian yoke he entered on an offensive and defensive alliance with Rome.§ It is impossible to blame him for a treaty of which he could not foresee the consequences, and which seemed the only way for preserving the independence of his much-tormented country. The passage in 1 Macc. viii. in which is described the impression made upon the Jews by the grandeur of Rome is too curious to be omitted. The inaccuracies in the original are easily accounted for by the imperfect information of the Jews.

"Now Judas had heard of the fame of the Romans, that they were mighty and valiant men, and such as would lovingly accept all that joined themselves unto them,‖ and make a league of amity with all that came to them; and that they were men of great valour. It was told him also of their wars and noble acts . . . . . among the Galatians ¶

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* For the original kindly relations between Judas and Nicanor, *see* 2 Macc. xiv. 21; Stanley, iii. 281.

† Bab. Taanith, f. 18, 2. But *see* Herzfeld, ii. 345. The story of the battle of Capharsalama is told with considerable variations.

‡ 1 Macc. vii. 39-50; 2 Macc. xv. 1-36; Megillath Taanith, 30; Derenbourg, p. 63.

§ 1 Macc. viii. 25, 27; Josephus, *Antt.* xii. 10, 6. He sent as his ambassadors Eupolemos and Jason. This alliance with Rome makes it all the more strange that the only allusion which Tacitus deigns to make to the whole Maccabæan struggle is that "Antiochus endeavoured to put down the superstitions of the Jews, and was only prevented *by the Parthian War* from reforming a most odious nation" (*Hist.* v. 8).

‖ As they had done with Attalus of Pergamos, Demetrius Soter, etc.

¶ C. Manlius Vulso had subdued Phrygia B.C. 189.

. . . . . and what they had done in the country of Spain* . . . . . and the kings also that came against them from the uttermost parts of the earth till they had discomfited them.† Besides this, that they had discomfited in battle Philip‡ and Perseus,§ King of the Citims,‖ with others; how also Antiochus, the great King of Asia,¶ came against them in battle, having 120 elephants, with horses and chariots and a very great army, and was discomfited by them; and of the country of India and Media and Libya, and of the goodliest countries which they took of him.** Moreover, how the Grecians†† had determined to come and destroy them, and they . . . sent against them a certain captain,‡‡ and brought them to be their servants . . . . . besides how they . . . . . brought under their dominion all other kingdoms and isles§§ that at any time thwarted them . . . . . Also that, whom they would help to a kingdom those reign . . . . . finally that they were greatly exalted; yet for all this none of them wore a crown, or was clothed in purple, to be magnified thereby: moreover, how they had made for themselves a senate house . . . . . and that there was neither envy nor emulation among them. In consideration of these things Judas chose Eupolemos, the son of John, and Jason, the son of Eleazar, to make a league of amity and confederacy with them . . . . . so that matter pleased the Romans well."

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* In the Second Punic War (B.C. 218-201).

† Perhaps an allusion to Pyrrhus (B.C. 280) and the Carthaginians (B.C. 218).

‡ Philip III. of Macedonia, at the battle of Cynoscephalae (B.C. 197).

§ At the battle of Pydna (B.C. 171).

‖ Citium (Chittim) in Cyprus (Gen. x. 4 ; Dan. xi. 36, etc.).

¶ Antiochus III. at Thermopylae (B.C. 192), and at the battle of Magnesia (B.C. 190).

** Roughly speaking, part of these countries was ceded by Antiochus. *See* Liv. xxxvii. 14.

†† Specially the Aetolians (Liv. xxxv. 33).

‡‡ Manius Acilius Glabrio ; or perhaps L. Mummius, and the battle of Leucopetra.

§§ For instance, Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica. Throughout the passage there are slight inaccuracies, such as we should naturally expect.

It was only in later days that the Jews saw all that was involved in the advances of Judas to this world-terrifying power; they then in their usual cryptographic way began to speak of the Romans as Idumeans. They said that, on the day upon which Solomon married the daughter of Pharaoh, the angel Gabriel, in order ultimately to punish the crime, came down and stuck a reed into the sea which stirred up the mud; this became an island, and ultimately grew into the city of Rome, which subdued Judæa (Shabbath, 56, 2). The impression left on the Jews by the grandeur of Rome may be seen in Pesachim (f. 118, 2), where we are told that in its 385 palaces were stores enough to feed the whole world.

The Romans—always on the alert to divide and rule, and glad of every pretext to interfere in the affairs of foreign nations—threw their shield over the Jews, and, as usual (says Justin.), "*de alieno largientes*," guaranteed the independence of Judæa.* But Judas never lived to hear of the success of his appeal. Before the reply of the Senate had reached him he fell in battle near Eleasa (April, B.C. 161), as nobly as he had lived, heroically struggling with the little remnant of his army, now reduced to 800 men, against the enormous forces of Bacchides.† It has been conjectured that the marked dwindling of the force at his disposal was due to the dislike of the stricter Chasidim to the worldly policy of alliance with the Romans.

Of the five heroic sons of Mattathias three still remained—the eldest, Johanan *Kaddis;* the youngest, Jonathan *Apphus*, and Simon *Thassi.* Johanan was surprised and killed by the Arabs. Jonathan and Simon, who had taken refuge with a few undaunted followers in the wilderness of Tekoah, maintained from thence a harassing guerilla warfare, in which he was all but invariably successful.‡ Surprising a great

* Justin., *Hist.* xxxvi. 3.

† 1 Macc. ix. 1, 22; Josephus, *Antt.* xii. 11, 1.

‡ On one occasion Jonathan and his army, attacked by Bacchides, saved themselves by swimming the Jordan (1 Macc. ix. 32, 49).

marriage procession, they avenged the death of their brother Johanan. The internal troubles of Syria secured for Judæa a partial rest. In B.C. 159 Alcimus died, having been seized with horrible pangs after beginning to pull down "the wall of the Temple," usually supposed to mean the *Chêl* or low partition wall between the court of the Gentiles and the court of the Israelites.* As the Syrians did not fill the vacancy, the functions of the High Priest were, for two years or more, discharged by a deputy (or *sagan*). The next year the apostate Jews again secured the intervention of Bacchides; but, worried by petty and inglorious defeats at the hands of Jonathan and Simon, he at last, in a burst of rage, put to death the leaders of the Hellenising party, and, fearful lest Rome should interfere, granted to Jonathan and his party favourable terms of peace.†

In B.C. 154 an impostor, Alexander Balas, professing to be a son of Antiochus Epiphanes, claimed the throne of Syria. He was a sort of successful Perkin Warbeck, a youth known to be of mean extraction, whom it served the purpose of the Romans to support.‡ The Jews received from Balas immense concessions, and Jonathan suddenly sprang into the highest power and dignity because he was not only left free from harassing invasion, but was counted as a useful ally to both competitors for the throne of Antioch, who made immense offers for his assistance. The Jews favoured Alexander Balas, who was acknowledged by the Romans. After the defeat and death of Demetrius (B.C. 150), Balas sent Jonathan a golden crown and a purple robe, and a golden *fibula*, such as was worn by the Syrian Kings, and made him a *meridarch*, or ruler of a province, and High Priest and the King's friend. At the Feast of

* Josephus, *Antt.* xii. 10, 6 (1 Macc. ix. 54). Others suppose that he pulled down the *Soreg*, a low breastwork under the steps to the court (Schürer, i. 1, 237). See note on p. 39.

† 1 Macc. ix. 57-72. The First Book of Maccabees is mostly silent about the events between B.C. 160-153.

‡ Polyb., xxxiii. 16, 10; Justin., xxxv. 1, etc.

Tabernacles Jonathan openly assumed the dignity of High Priest,* and that office was thus transferred from the line of Jozadak to the younger line of Joiarib. Jonathan, later on, sent ambassadors to Rome to renew his alliance with the Romans, and is also said to have renewed amity with the Spartans.†

The earlier Chasidim, who had been ready to sacrifice everything for the Mosaic Law, had devoted themselves heart and soul to the cause of the Maccabees, while they regarded them as the defenders of their religion. But they cared less than nothing for their dynastic and secular ambitions, and the deep divergence between the Asmonæan ideals and those of the sterner Pietists or Puritans gradually created the party of the *later* Chasidim or Pharisees, while the successors of the earlier party, who followed the Maccabæan fortunes, were developed gradually into the sect of the Sadducees. At present, however, the leading teachers were content with the pursuit of their own studies, and inculcated a cold indifference to the fierce domestic and political complications of their times. This attitude of the chief teachers of the Law gives a new meaning to the earlier "Sayings of the Fathers." Thus: "Let thy house," said Joseph Ben Joezer, "be a gathering-place for the learned; kiss the dust of their feet." In other words, the rabbi was henceforth to be everything to the "pupils of the wise":‡ Asmonæan princes were to be as nothing.

The prosperity of the impostor Balas was short-lived. His father-in-law Ptolemy, believing that he was engaged in treachery, defeated and slew him in B.C. 145. Demetrius Nicator succeeded, but he alienated his army, and Tryphon§

* 1 Macc. x. 20, 21, 89. There had been a vacancy of seven years after the death of Alcimus, and the only legitimate representative of the direct Aaronic line—Onias—was in Egypt.

† See 1 Macc. xii. 5-28. On the question whether they really were the Spartans or the people of the Sepharad, on the Bosphorus, *see ante*, p. 17, and Winer, *Realwörterb.*, *s.v.* Sparta. The fiction may have been based on some accidental verbal resemblance.

‡ Aboth. i. 4.

§ His real name was Diodotus.

raised to the throne Antiochus Theos, a young son of Alexander Balas. During these troubles, the High Priest, Jonathan, courted by all the rival claimants to the Syrian throne, had grown in power and magnificence; but now Tryphon, aspiring to the crown, lured Jonathan to Ptolemais under pretence of surrendering it to him, and there treacherously murdered both him and Antiochus Theos (B.C. 142).

One more Maccabee—Simon—remained, and the Jews at once made him their ruler and High Priest. He was older than Jonathan, and even than Judas Maccabæus, but had loyally made way for them because the leadership of warriors was more necessary at the time than that of a man of counsel. He had always been their chief adviser, and had effectually aided them, even in war. He recovered the corpse of his brother and buried it with the other members of his family at Modin, where was erected a superb mausoleum with seven pillars in honour of Mattathias, his wife, and their five sons. This tomb was on a hill, and became a landmark for all the ships which sailed along the coast. It was still standing in the days of Eusebius, late in the fourth century after Christ.*

Simon (B.C. 142-135) at once strengthened his position by making overtures to the dethroned Demetrius II., and by renewing his good understanding with the Roman Senate, from whom he received a treaty engraved on copper tables. He continued the Maccabæan successes. Among other splendid services he recaptured the Baris, which was a constant menace to the Temple, and by three years of labour levelled the hill on which it stood. He practically secured Jewish autonomy and "took away the yoke of the Gentiles." Simon thus began a new Jewish era in which he obtained the right to coin money of his own.† His coins bear the

* 1 Macc. xiii. 25-32; Josephus, *Antt.* xiii. 6, 6; Justin., *Hist.* xxxvi. 1; Livy, *Epit.* iv.; Euseb. Jahn, § ci.; *Bibl. Arch.* ii. 245.

† The right was granted him by Antiochus VII. (Sidetes) in B.C. 140 or 143 (1 Macc. xv. 6). The coins bear a vine leaf, a bunch of grapes, a branch and a vase. From this time the Jews dated their annals from "the year of freedom."

words *Simon the Nasi*, in Samaritan letters. He also repaired the Temple, and restored to it some of its old magnificence. To Rome he gratefully sent a golden shield, and the Senate acknowledged him as an independent prince, and issued a mandate to all the Eastern kings to respect the ally and friend of Rome. Aided by his brave sons, Judas and John Hyrcanus, he defeated Cendebeus, the general whom the new king of Syria, Antiochus VII. (Sidetes)* had sent (B.C. 130) to demand the restoration of Gazara and Joppa. The Book of Maccabees has much to say of the calm and beneficent dominion of this last surviving son of Mattathias, in which, amid ever-increasing prosperity, "the ancient men sat all in the streets communing together of the wealth of the land, and the young men put on glorious and warlike apparel." †

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* So called from Sida in Pamphylia.
† 1 Macc. xiv. 8-15.

Note on the Chêl.—The Rev. H. A. White, of New College, Oxford, writes :—"The Hebrew word *Chêl* occurs several times in the Old Testament. Kimchi, and the Jews define it as 'little wall' (lit. 'son of a wall'). . . . In the Temple of Herod the *Chêl* was a terrace, dividing the inner from the outer Court, commonly known as the Court of the Gentiles. . . . The inner Court, which stood 15 cubits higher than the Court of the Gentiles, was surrounded by a wall 25 cubits high. Outside this wall, on a lower level, the *Chêl* ran round three sides of this Court. It was reached by a flight of fourteen steps. *Soreg*, a late Hebrew word, means a lattice-work fence or barrier which enclosed the steps leading to the *Chêl*."

CHAPTER V.

The Later Asmonæans.

"Tum Judæi . . . sibi ipsi reges imposuere; qui mobilitate volgi repulsi, resumpta per arma dominatione, fugam civium, urbium invasiones, . . . superstitionem fovebant, quia honor sacerdotii firmamentum potentiæ adsumebatur."—Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 8.

For eight years Simon continued his beneficent, successful and glorious rule, which exhibits "the purest height of the whole Maccabæan movement." In B.C. 135 he made a tour through Judæa, and was invited by his son-in-law Ptolemy, Governor of Jericho, to a banquet in his castle. The traitor Ptolemy, acting perhaps in concert with Antiochus Sidetes, there assassinated Simon, with his sons Mattathias and Judas, intending to usurp the princedom (Febr. B.C. 135).* But the brave John Hyrcanus, who was at Gazara, escaped his murderous designs, and hastening to Jerusalem, was at once acknowledged as ethnarch and High Priest. He advanced to avenge his father's murder. Ptolemy had in his hands his mother and brothers, whom he exposed on the walls of Jericho, there publicly scourged them, and threatened to slay them. Even in the midst of this horrible anguish and humiliation, the noble mother urged Hyrcanus to continue the siege.

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* 1 Macc. xvi. 14, 17. This was done at a banquet in a little fortress called Dok, near Jericho, when Simon and his sons had, alas! "drunk freely."

The Maccabæan epoch has been divided into two separate periods;—namely, B.C. 168-153, during which years the struggle against Syria for liberty and independence was maintained; and B.C. 153-139, which witnessed the growth of Jewish autonomy because the Syrian factions in turns solicited the leaders at Jerusalem who held the balance of power. The struggle led to a new outburst of literature, marked by the appearance of the Book of Daniel, at any rate in its present form;* the Prophecy of Enoch; and the Book of the Maccabees. It was also marked by great theological advance. The doctrine of the Resurrection acquired much greater prominence, and the Canon of the Scriptures became more approximately fixed. The vile Ptolemy fled to Philadelphia, and disappears form history after this brief emergence into futile infamy.

John Hyrcanus began his reign (B.C. 135-105) under very depressing circumstances, and was shut up in Jerusalem by Antiochus Sidetes, who, however, treated the besieged inhabitants with such generosity that Hyrcanus accepted terms of peace. It is said that, to obtain money for the fines and tribute which he was forced to pay, Hyrcanus opened the tomb of David, in which he found 3000 talents of silver. Antiochus plunged into a Parthian war, in which he was defeated and killed, and was succeeded by the mad Demetrius II. While Syria and Egypt were alike distracted by dynastic and internal troubles, Hyrcanus seized his opportunity, threw off the yoke, asserted his independence, and established his authority over the whole of Palestine. He was the first Maccabee to assume the title of King. He ruled for twenty-six glorious years, and then (B.C. 110) sent his sons Aristobulus and Antigonus to attack Samaria. They were successful. The following year they destroyed every vestige of the Temple on Gerizim, and by means of trenches

* Dan. xi. 29-35 alludes to Antiochus Epiphanes and Judas Maccabeus, the re-dedication of the Temple, etc.

filled from the mountain springs, made the site of the city a pool of water.* He also subdued the Idumeans, and compelled them to adopt Judaism. But this was "the beginning of the end"; for from these subjugated and forcibly-converted Idumeans sprang Antipater and the family of the Herods.

It was Hyrcanus who turned the house of Simon, northwest of the Temple, into the castle which thenceforth became the palace of the Asmonæan princes. It was subsequently used by the Herodian family, when the Roman procurators took up their residence in the palace which Herod the Great had built.†

During this entire portion of his reign Hyrcanus had remained faithful to the traditions of his family, and had displayed all the military and political ability which, even amid circumstances apparently desperate, had not only enabled them to triumph over their enemies, but even to steer their country amid the fiercest tempests into independence and glory. Up to this time he had been on the best terms with that stricter body of Chasidim, which had now developed into the Pharisees. But at the close of his twenty-nine years occurred an unhappy incident which became prolific of subsequent disasters. He had invited a multitude of guests to a great banquet, and, conscious of his integrity, he unwisely asked the Pharisees who were present if they were aware of any dereliction on his part of his duties towards God or man. All of them gave willing testimony to his virtues; but there happened to

* Josephus, *Antt.* xiii. 10, 2-4. Simon is said to have learnt the success of his sons by a voice from heaven (Josephus, *Antt.* xiii. 10, 3). He also prophesied that they would be unfortunate when they came to power. Josephus says that God thought him worthy of the three great boons—government, high priesthood, and prophecy. His coins, besides his own title, bear the words *Cheber* (Γερουσία, "senate," "assembly") of the Jews.

† 1 Macc. xiii. 53; Vell. Paterc., ii. 9; Aul. Gell., xv. 28.; Pliny, xxxvii. 2. The fortress was called *Baris*, a corruption of the word *Birah*, which the Jews seem to have borrowed from the Persians.

be present a morose and envious fanatic named Eleazer, who impudently blurted out the remark: "If you are a just man, resign your High Priesthood and content yourself with the civil power; for your mother was once a captive in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, and you may be a descendant not of Aaron but of a heathen." The assertion appears to have been absolutely groundless, and Hyrcanus, who had every reason to feel a proud and tender affection for his noble mother, was justly wrathful at the insolent calumny.* While he was in this frame of mind a leading Sadducee, named Jonathes, whispered to Hyrcanus that Eleazer had only expressed the general sentiment of the Pharisaic party, and that the King would discover this if he asked them what punishment Eleazer deserved for his seditious and lying insolence.† Now the Pharisees were as a rule notoriously mild and lenient in their punishments, and on this the Sadducee relied. The Pharisees answered that Eleazer deserved to be scourged and imprisoned. Hyrcanus thought that a punishment so inadequate, in his opinion, to the offence, which he regarded as high treason, proved the complicity of the Pharisees with his slanderer. He definitely broke with them, joined the Sadducees, and incurred the undying hatred of the popular and more democratic party.‡ Hyrcanus, after a reign of more than thirty years, died B.C. 106, the year in which Pompey and Marcus Tullius Cicero were born.§ He was sumptuously interred, and left the High Priesthood to his

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* The falsity of Eleazer's villainous remark is the more obvious because, had it been true, the High Priesthood would not have been conferred by public edict "on Simon or on his sons for ever, until a faithful prophet should arise."

† Josephus, *Antt.* xiii. 10, 5, 6; Kiddushin, 66, 1.

‡ Munk, *Palestine*, p. 529. For the whole story *see* Josephus, *Antt.* xiii. 10, 5, 6; Grätz, iii. 684; Derenbourg, 79, 80; Wellhausen, *Die Pharisäer u. d. Sadd.*, 89-95. It is told in Berachoth, f. 29, 1, of "the High Priest Johanan," and incorrectly in Kiddushin, f. 66, of Alexander Jannaeus.

§ Jahn, *Hebr. Comm.* § *c.v.*

eldest son, Aristobulus I., and the civil government to his wife. He does not seem to have had a high opinion of any of his five sons.

The brief reign of Aristobulus (B.C. 105-104) lasted little more than a year, and was signalised by crimes and miseries. Unwilling to be deprived of the civil authority, he imprisoned his mother, and is accused of having left her to die of hunger. He also imprisoned his three younger brothers, only leaving his favourite second brother Antigonus at large. Although in conquering Ituræa he forced its inhabitants to accept circumcision, he was so completely a member of the Græcising faction as to be called *Philhellen*, and was the first Maccabee who ostentatiously paraded the title, not of *Nasi*, or ethnarch, but of King.* His days were ended by a fearful tragedy. Falling sick during the Ituræan campaign, he returned to Jerusalem, and left his brother Antigonus at the head of his army. When Antigonus had set the affairs of the country in order, he returned to Jerusalem; but some of the courtiers had been filling the mind of Aristobulus with jealousy and suspicion against his brother. Antigonus was in the Temple, which communicated with the Baris by a subterranean passage, and the king sent him a message to come to him unarmed.† The faithless messenger, suborned by the enemies of Antigonus, told him to come in full armour, as the king wished to see his panoply. Aristobulus had stationed soldiers in the passage to slay his brother, if in disobedience to the message he had sent he came in arms. The soldiers, ignorant of the treachery, saw the gleam of armour, fell on the unsuspecting Antigonus, and slew him. The king on receiving the news vomited blood. The servant who carried away the blood slipped and fell on the still fresh blood of Antigonus, so that the blood of the living and the dead

* Aristobulus was thus "a priest upon his throne" (Zech. vi. 13), though by no means a worthy one.

† Josephus, *B. J.*, i. 3, 2-4.

were mingled on the stone floor. The witnesses of the accident raised a cry of horror, and the king on being informed of the circumstance, broke a blood-vessel and died.*

His widow, Salome, liberated the three imprisoned younger brothers, of whom the eldest, Alexander Jannæus, succeeded (B.C. 104-78). After putting to death his second brother, who intrigued against him, he began a troublous reign of twenty-seven years (B.C. 104-78). During his first eight years he was engaged in wars and entrusted to Salome the charge of the civil administration. She was sister of the stern Pharisaic leader Simeon ben Shetach, and for a time things went well, although in some of his wars Jannæus was entirely unsuccessful, and was only saved from ruin by fortunate accidents. He, however, succeeded in annexing to his domain the seaboard towns, except Ptolemais. During this part of his reign his coins bear the inscription, "Jonathan the High Priest and the *Chebher* (Senate) of the Jews." But on his return to Jerusalem from his various expeditions he was informed that Simeon ben Shetach had cheated him of some money. Three hundred Nazarites had arrived at Jerusalem under an obligation to sacrifice 900 victims.† Simeon managed by legal chicanery to free 150 of them from their obligation; nevertheless he asked the king to pay for the 900 victims—which he said they were unable to provide—and pocketed the value of half the victims. Being informed of the indignation of the defrauded king, Simeon fled; but hearing

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* This dark account of him may be coloured by Pharisaic jealousy. Strabo quotes Timagenes (Josephus, *Antt.* xiii. 11, 3), as speaking well of him. Josephus tells a story that an Essene named Judas had prophesied that Antigonus would die at Strato's tower (afterwards called Cæsarea), but seeing him at Jerusalem on the predicted date was in despair about his prophecy; but on that day Antigonus was murdered in the passage from the Baris, known as Strato's Tower. We meet with similar stories as to the deaths of Hesiod, Cambyses, Henry IV., etc.

† Berechoth Rabba, xci.; Derenbourg, 97, 8; Grätz, iii. 703.

a favourable account of the Pharisee's wisdom from some royal Parthian guests, Jannæus bade Salome to summon her brother home. He came under a promise of safety, and on entering quietly seated himself between the king and queen. "Why did you fly?" asked the king. "Because," said Simeon, "I remembered the words of Isaiah (xxvi. 20), 'Hide thyself as it were for a little moment, until the indignation be overpast.'" "But why did you cheat me?" "I did not cheat you. You gave your money to free 150 of the Nazarenes; I contributed my wisdom to free the other 150; and the Preacher says (Eccles. vii. 12) 'that Wisdom is a shade, and money is a shade.'" "Why then did you not tell me?" "Because in that case you would not have given me the money." "Why have you sat down between me and the queen?" "Because the son of Sirach says 'Thy wisdom shall place thee among princes.'" The bickering continued, and Simeon was left unmolested, but the rage of the Pharisees again broke out. When Jannæus was performing his high-priestly functions at the Feast of Tabernacles, he ought, according to their traditions, to have poured out a libation of water on the altar. Despising the importance which they alone attached to a mere incidental piece of traditional ritual, he deliberately poured out the water on the ground.* It was the custom of the people during the feast to carry a *lulab*, or palm-branch, and a citron (*ethrog*) in their hands, and in their rage they not only pelted him with these citrons, but abused and taunted him as an alien and a slave. Jannæus, aware of the peril involved in ruling over a hostile people, had already provided himself with a bodyguard of 6000 Pisidians and Cicilians. He now turned them loose among the populace, and they

* This drawing and libation of water, though unknown to the Law, was in later years celebrated with boundless rejoicings; and it was in allusion to these ceremonies that our Lord cried out in the Temple on the last day of the Feast of Tabernacles, "If any man thirst, let him come unto Me and drink" (John vii. 37).

inflicted a terrible massacre.* In the subsequent collisions no less than 50,000 of the people are said to have perished, and on his coins Jannæus now erased the allusion to the Jewish Senate, and simply called himself "Alexander the King." The tumults continued, and when Jannæus, sick of such a life, asked the Pharisees to suggest terms of reconciliation, they simply shouted "Thy death." In B.C. 91 Jannæus was defeated by the Arabians, lost his army, and narrowly escaped with his life. The rebels seized their opportunity and called in the Syrians against him. The King was defeated at Shechem, his bodyguard cut to pieces, and he fled to the mountains.†

The invitation of a foreign foe into Judæa had alienated many of the people, and a reaction now occurred in the King's favour. In B.C. 86 he won a battle which recovered his throne. He took terrible vengeance on his enemies. As he lay at a feast among his concubines, he ordered 800 of the insurgent Pharisees to be crucified in his presence, after their wives and children had been slain in their sight. For this bloody deed he received the surname of the "Thracian." ‡

In B.C. 83 and subsequent years he won many successes which revived his popularity among the people, especially as he had been nominally reconciled by the good graces of Salome to Simeon ben Shetach, and the Pharisaic party.§ During these years he inscribed on his coins "Jehonathan the High Priest of the Jews."‖ He was seized, at the age of fifty, with a quartan fever, caused by intemperance, and died after a reign of twenty-seven years. On his deathbed (B.C. 77) he practically admitted that he had failed in his struggle with the Pharisees, who had won the hearts of the majority of his

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* Josephus, *Antt.* xiii. 13, 5 ; *B.J.*, i. 4, 3 ; Sukka, 48, 2 ; Derenbourg, 98 ; Wellhausen, 96.

† Josephus, *B. J.*, i. 4, 4 5

‡ Munk, *Palestine*, 532.

§ Berachoth, 48, 1.

‖ Edersheim, ii. 675.

subjects. He summoned his wife Alexandra Salome, and bade her reconcile herself with the party. "Fear neither the Pharisees," he said, "nor those who are not Pharisees. Fear only the *painted* Pharisees, whose deeds are those of Zimri, but who claim the reward of Phinehas."*

Queen Alexandra (B.C. 78-69) followed his advice, gave full scope to the plans of the Pharisees, and was guided in all things by the directions of her brother the *Nasi*, Simeon ben Shetach, leaving only the High Priesthood to her son Hyrcanus II. The Sadducees were almost completely driven from the Sanhedrin. The libation of water at the Feast of Tabernacles respecting which Jannæus had first offended the sect, was now made one of the most important rites of the year, and though it was not a part of the ceremonial enjoined in Scripture, was accompanied with illuminations, processions, and dances. The water was solemnly brought from the Pool of Siloam in a golden ewer, and the Talmud said that no one knew what rejoicing was who had not witnessed this festival.† There was a Golden Age for the Pharisees during the nine years of Queen Alexandra's reign; but they did not lack opponents. Simeon, it is said, "had hot hands,"—in other words, was implacably severe;‡ and the Talmud in various passages shows that, in proportion to their dominance, the Pharisees were often the objects of contemptuous dislike. The Sadducees, though they were obliged to conform outwardly, often ridiculed the Pharisees, whose zeal in washing the golden candlestick they mocked by saying that, "if they could, they would wash the sun." Aristobulus, the queen's younger son, and many former adherents of Jannæus, weary

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* Sota, 222. The Scribes, like the Pharisees, generated a very unworthy set of followers, who were at once haughty and extortionate (Mark xii. 38, 40). They naturally became the worst enemies of Christ (Matt. xxvi. 3) and of the Apostles (Acts iv. 3; vi. 12; Numb. xxv. 14).

† Succa, p. 2. In Taanith, 23, 1 (Derenbourg, iii.), the Pharisees describe her reign as one of boundless blessing.

‡ Sanhedrin, vi. 5.

of Pharisaic tyranny and insolence, obtained leave to retire from Jerusalem to frontier cities.

Alexandra died B.C. 69, and left the crown and High Priesthood to her eldest son, the feeble and indolent John Hyrcanus II. But Aristobulus, who had become the favourite of the army, conspired against him, and so completely won the soldiers and the people, that Hyrcanus consented to resign his dignities and retire into private life.

Thus Hyrcanus II. was Alexandra's legitimate successor, though he had to give way before his abler brother Aristobulus II., who reigned B.C. 69-63.

CHAPTER VI.

Antipater, the Idumæan.

"That smooth-faced gentleman, tickling commodity,
Commodity, the bias of the world."

King John, *Act* II. *Sc.* 2.

It is at this point that *Antipater*, the immediate ancestor of the Herodian family, comes under the notice of the historian.

If history merely consisted in recounting the personal fortunes of eminent men and their descendants, we might have begun the history of the Herods at this point. But "mankind has a nobler destiny than to become the footstool of a few families." History is the chronicle of great movements of the human mind, and all the history of the subsequent centuries was altered by the Advent of Christ. It was He who "lifted the gate of the centuries off its hinges with His bleeding hand."* If we are to regard history as "a civil theology of the Divine Providence," † we must try to note the trend of human developments, and the causes of great religious changes. The main significance of the era which witnessed the Birth of Jesus Christ, as it affects the Jews and their future destiny; the whole inner meaning of the Herodian Age, as it influenced the fortunes alike of the Jew and the Gentile; the entire abrogation of the Old Covenant, and the inauguration of the New; the effacement of the Jewish nationality and the continuance of the Jews as a scattered and dependent race; the decay of the

* Julius Müller. † Vico.

Roman Empire, and the substitution of Christian for Pagan civilisation—all these mighty events were materially influenced by the outward circumstances and the currents of religious opinion, at which, in the preceding chapters, we have given so summary a glance. We have been watching the sowing of the seeds, we are now to note the congruity of the harvest with the seed sown. When men sow good seed they reap golden harvests; when they sow the wind, they reap the whirlwind.

John Hyrcanus II., when he had given way before Aristobulus, might well have been content to live as a simple High Priest, or even as a private person, if he had not fallen under the masterful influence of the able and subtle Antipater, who fomented every dissension between him and Aristobulus, and persuaded him that as long as he stayed at Jerusalem his life was in danger.

Antipater was the son of a certain Antipas, who, in the reign of Alexander Jannæus, had risen to the position of Governor of Idumæa—that is, not of the wide lands of Edom, but of a district of Southern Palestine, known as the *Negeb*. It had been overrun by Edomites, and about B.C. 130 had been annexed by John Hyrcanus I. It was thenceforth placed under Jewish Governors.* Of the family of Antipater there are conflicting accounts. The historian Nicolas of Damascus, a stanch friend and flatterer of the Herodian Kings, says that he was of Jewish lineage; Josephus, that he was of noble Idumæan descent; the enemies of the Herods afterwards persistently declared that he was of heathen and servile origin.† That he was an

* 1 Macc. v. 65-68; vi. 31.

† According to Justin Martyr, tradition said that he was a native of Ascalon (Dial. C. Tryph. 52), and Jul. Africanus, that he had as a boy been a temple servitor of Apollo, but had been carried off and adopted by the Idumæans (Append. Euseb., *H. E.* 1, 7, 11; Syncellus, i. 561; Sulp. Severus, ii. 26; Epiphanius, *Haer.* xx.). *See* Keim (Schenkel, *Bibel-lexicon* iii. 27; Ewald, v. 297). The story may have been invented to affix odium on the family as originally Philistine. *See* Philo. *Leg. ad Caium*, § 30.

Edomite, and therefore a descendant of Esau, is certain. Some of the family names are Idumæan, such as Phalion, Phasael, Pheroras, Koztobar, or partly Greek (*e.g.* Herodes) and partly old Idumæan. Such names, says Ewald, give a true picture of the intermingling of their morals and policy.*

Antipater, able and ambitious, was destined to climb to far higher distinctions than his father Antipas. As all his course was guided by considerations of policy, he probably embraced the party of Hyrcanus II. because he knew that the weak nature of the Prince would make him as clay in his hands, whereas he would have had no chance of asserting his mastery over the more vigorous Aristobulus.

Accordingly he persuaded Hyrcanus to fly from Jerusalem and take refuge with Hareth (Aretas), King of Arabia, whom he induced to advance with an army of 50,000 men to reinstate the deposed Priest-King. Aristobulus, unable to resist so large a force, took refuge in the almost impregnable Temple, while Hyrcanus, Antipater, and their Arabian allies occupied the Holy City. They proceeded to lay siege to the Temple. When the city had been besieged in B.C. 141 by the army of Antiochus Sidetes, the Syrian King had won the title of *Eusebes*, "the pious," by supplying animals to the Jews for the purposes of sacrifice. Aristobulus proposed that this precedent should be followed by Hareth, and boxes full of money were let down the walls to the Arabs, who, in return, placed sheep in the boxes, to be sacrificed in the Temple worship. Then, according to the Talmud, a remarkable event happened. There was an elder who was familiar with Greek arts (*Chokmath Javanith*, "the wisdom of Javan"), who told the besiegers that Aristobulus and his followers would never capitulate while sacrificial animals were supplied to them. Accordingly the next day, when the box of money was let down the wall, the besiegers put a pig into it. As it was being dragged half-way up the wall

* *Gesch.* iv. 477.

the animal put out its feet, and tried to cling to the stones, at which profanation a violent earthquake shook the Holy Land over an extent of 400 parasangs.* The Rabbis, in consequence, pronounced a curse on any Jew who should rear swine, or teach Greek knowledge to his son.

Confused as are the variations in the story, it is far from impossible that Grätz may be right in the conjecture that this Hellenising elder was no other than Antipater.†

Another striking incident marked the siege (B.C. 65). There was at Jerusalem a man of consummate holiness named Onias, whose prayers were believed to be irresistible. After the death of Alexandra Salome a severe famine had occurred, and the people entreated the prayers of the Saint. He drew a circle in the sand, and standing in it, said to God that he would never tread outside of it till his prayer for rain had been granted. A few drops fell. "I did not pray for a few drops," said Onias, "but for a gracious rain which should fill the cisterns and the wells." A terrible downfall began. "This was not what I asked," said Onias, "but a rain which shall manifest Thy bounty and Thy blessing." Then the rain began to fall, and continued so steadily that the Jews had to take refuge on the mountain of the Temple. "Now pray that the rain may cease," they said to him. "Go," he answered, "and see if the 'stone of the wanderers' ‡ is covered." "You ought to be excommunicated," said Simeon ben Shetach to Onias, "but what can I do? You play with God as a spoilt child with a father who does all the child wishes."§ The 20th of Adar was kept as a festival

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* Sota, 49, 2; Menachoth, 64, 2; Baba Kama, 82, 2 (Derenbourg, 113). As in most of the Talmudic stories, there are considerable variations.

† Grätz, iii. 502.

‡ Josephus, *Antt.* xiv. 2, 1; Mishnah Taanith, iii. 9, 12, and 66; Grätz, iii. 130, 8. It seems to have been a stone on which lost objects were placed that they might be reclaimed by their owners.

§ Bab. Taanith, f. 23, 1; Megillath Taanith, 34; Derenbourg, 112; Munk, p. 531.

to commemorate this event, and Onias derived from it the surname of Hammeaggel, or "the circle-maker."

Seizing this saint, Hyrcanus II. and the Arabs ordered him to pray for their success; but he knelt down and said, "Lord of the Universe, since the besiegers are Thy People, and the besieged Thy Priests, listen not to the prayers or vows of either side." After uttering this prayer he was stoned to death.

But at this point the Romans intervened. Pompey the Great, having now conquered Mithridates and Tigranes, came to Damascus (B.C. 64), where he was met by more than twelve kings and many ambassadors. Aristobulus tried to win his favour by the present of a gold vine of superb workmanship, an emblem of Judæa, called "the Delight" * (τερπωλή), which bore the name of Alexander Jannæus, and was afterwards preserved in the Capitol.† He also promised 400 talents to Scaurus, Pompey's general, if he would come to his relief, and he gave 300 talents to Gabinius. Scaurus advanced to Jerusalem, and ordered King Hareth with his Arabians to retire. He did so, and during his retreat was defeated by Aristobulus with great slaughter. In the battle the brother of Antipater and many of the party of Hyrcanus were slain.

The next year Pompey ordered the case of the brothers to be heard in his presence. Antipater showed himself a much more skilful pleader than Nicodemus, the advocate of Aristobulus II., who complained of the bribes which had to be given to Scaurus and Gabinius. In B.C. 63 (the year of Cicero's consulship) Pompey ordered the two Jewish princes to appear before him. Aristobulus came with a train of haughty long-haired youths, arrayed in armour and purple; Hyrcanus with a thousand Jews whom Antipater had collected to bear witness against the exactions of the

* Josephus, *Antt.* xvi. 3, 1. Strabo said he had seen it at Rome.

† It probably perished in the burning of the Capitol, A.D. 69 (Tac. *Hist.* iii. 71, 72).

usurping king. An embassy of Jews, representing the party of Pharisees, appeared to plead against them both. Aristobulus, seeing that he had made an unfavourable impression, and despairing of success, withdrew without leave to put Judæa in a state of defence; and Pompey, after securing the submission of King Hareth, advanced against him. From the fortress Alexandreion, the Jewish King fled to Jerusalem, and the great Roman followed him, admiring on his way the palm groves and balsam gardens of Jericho. Deeply discouraged, Aristobulus went to meet him with a large sum of money and the offer to surrender Jerusalem. But on reaching the city it was found that the more zealous Chasidim had closed the gates, whereupon Pompey flung Aristobulus into chains. The party of Hyrcanus opened the gates, and the priests, with the fiercer Pharisees, took refuge in the Temple, which they fortified. Availing himself of the absolute quiescence of the Jews every Sabbath, Pompey pushed forward his military engines, and made a breach in the walls with one of his battering rams. Cornelius Faustus, a son of the great Dictator Sylla, was the first to scale the breach; and, after a fight in which 12,000 Jews were massacred—more relentlessly by their own brethren of the party of Hyrcanus than even by the heathen—the Temple remained in the hands of the Romans. It is a touching proof of dauntless fidelity that, even amid the hottest carnage, the priests calmly continued to perform their sacrificial functions, and as they were cut down at the altar they mingled their blood with that of their sacrifices.*

Thus it was, on September 22 (Tisri 10, the Day of Atonement), that in the year B.C. 63 Rome and Judæa for the first time found themselves face to face—the one after 1500, the other after 700 years of their history.

Pompey behaved, on the whole, with unwonted mag-

* *See* Plut., *De Superst.* 8; *Pompey*, 35.

nanimity to the conquered race. He ordered the Temple to be purified from all traces of the massacre, and worship to be renewed.* He demanded a tribute of 10,000 talents, and reduced Palestine to a narrow principality; but he allowed Hyrcanus to resume the titles of High Priest and Ethnarch, though he might no longer wear the diadem. He held this dignity for twenty-four years.

But Pompey could not suppress the disdainful curiosity which led him in person to visit the Temple. He was struck with its wealth, with the golden altar and candlestick, and all the golden vessels, and the 2000 talents of gold stored in the treasury. None of these he touched.† For this magnanimity the Jews would have been grateful to him, had he not dared to profane with a heathen footstep the Holiest Place itself. He entered, and was dumb with amazement to find no idol, no image, no figure of the ass which the Jews were said to worship,‡ no object of superstition whatever, but simply an empty space, a vacuity of silence and darkness! It would have been wiser if he had shown himself more sympathetic in this matter towards the susceptibilities of these votaries of an immemorial religion. The Jews were good haters; they forgot all the other forbearance of their conqueror, and never forgave the intrusive profanation of their most solemn mysteries.

This was the end of all semblance of Jewish autonomy

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* This event seized the imagination of the Romans and added to the awe-struck reverence felt for the name of Pompey. Cicero calls him "Sampsoceramus" and "Hierosolymarius noster," and commends his wise forbearance towards a jealous and imprecatory state (Josephus, *Antt.* xiv. 4, 4, 5; *B. J.*, i. 6, 7; Florus, iii. 5; Tac., *Hist.* v. 9; Liv., *Epit.* 102; Appian., *Bell. Mithr.* cvi., cxiv; Plut., *Pompey* xlii., xliv.; Jahn, *Heb. Com.* § cix. In this year Augustus was born.

† Cicero praises his magnanimity in this respect. *Pro. L. Flacco*, 28: "Nullâ intus Deum effigie, vacuam sedem et inania arcana," exclaims Tacitus in surprise (*Hist.* v. 9).

‡ *See* Plut., *Quaest.* v. 6, 1. Tacitus records this ancient Pagan calumny. "Effigiem animalis (asini), quo monstrante errorem sitimque depulerant, penetrali sacravere" (*Hist.* v. 4). The calumny may have originated in some glimpse of cherubic winged oxen in the precincts.

which had originally lasted from the days of Joshua to those of King Zedekiah, and again from the days of Judas Maccabeus to this date.

Pompey carried away King Aristobulus with his two daughters and his two sons Alexander and Antigonus, to grace his triumph at Rome by marching in front of his chariot; but Alexander escaped during the journey. The triumph (September 29, 30, B.C. 61) was the most splendid which Rome had ever seen. Three hundred and twenty-four prisoners paced before the triumphal chariot. In former days they would all have been hurried into the Tullianum and strangled when the car began to climb the Capitol. Pompey, more merciful and more magnanimous, not only spared their lives, but sent them all home at the public expense, except Tigranes and Aristobulus, whose machinations he feared. The Jewish community in Rome, which afterwards acquired such importance, began with the settlement of Pompey's captives in the Eternal City. It became so influential that a proconsul hardly ventured to offend the Jews in his province, because if he did he was sure to be hissed by the mob on his return to Rome. The Jewish freedmen devoted themselves to trade. They were cordially detested, but with their fellow-countrymen of the Dispersion throughout the world became "an effective leaven of cosmopolitanism and of national decomposition." *

Hyrcanus II. was now the nominal ruler of his dwindled principality, though only with the title of High Priest. The real administrator was Antipater. At this point began the Roman-Herodian epoch of Jewish History, from B.C. 63 to the final overthrow of Barcochab in the reign of Hadrian, A.D. 135. Hyrcanus II. nominally ruled from B.C. 63-40.

The year B.C. 59 saw the beginnings of the First Triumvirate of Pompey, Cæsar, and Crassus. In B.C. 54, Alexander, the escaped son of Aristobulus, attacked Judæa with an

* Mommsen, *Hist. of Rome*, E. T., iv. 538.

army of 10,000 foot and 1500 horse, and Hyrcanus, not being permitted to refortify Jerusalem, appealed for help to the Proconsul Gabinius, who had Marc Antony as his Master of the Horse. They defeated Alexander, and at the wish of the Jews changed the country into a Pentapolis, governed by five aristocratic sections of the Sanhedrin at Jerusalem, Jericho, Gadara, Amathus, and Sepphoris. This continued till Julius Cæsar came to Palestine (B.C. 44) and restored Hyrcanus to his Ethnarchy.

After a time Aristobulus escaped from Rome, and, with his younger son Antigonus, created fresh disturbances. These were suppressed, and Aristobulus found himself again a prisoner. The elder son Alexander raised another army and was again defeated by Gabinius. But Gabinius was summoned home by the Senate for extortion and other malpractices, and in B.C. 54 Crassus succeeded him. He entered Jerusalem, and Eleazar, the treasurer of the Temple, tried to bribe him from farther depredations by offering him a golden bar worth 300 minae, concealed in a beam at the entrance of the Holiest Place. When he had got the bar, the base and avaricious triumvir, in spite of his oath, plundered the Temple of the 2000 talents which Pompey had spared, and of 8000 talents which had since been accumulated—a sum equivalent perhaps to two millions of pounds.* Actuated by the same insatiable avarice, he afterwards plundered the Temple of Atargatis in Hierapolis. As he left the Temple his son stumbled and fell, and Crassus fell over him, which was regarded as a fatal omen. The overwhelming catastrophe at Carrae (B.C. 53), in which he perished, was looked upon as the vengeance of Heaven for these acts of sacrilege.†

Antipater took care that the friendly understanding with Pompey and his subordinates should be maintained, but in

* Plut., *Crassus*, xviii.; Cic., *de Div.* 1, 56; Vell. Paterc. ii. 47; Josephus, *Antt.* xiv. 7, 1; *B. J.*, i. 8, 8.

† "Crassus ad Euphraten aquilas, natumque, suosque Perdidit, et leto est ultimus ipse datus" (Ov., *Fast.* v. 463).

B.C. 46 took place the open breach between Pompey and Cæsar, and the fortunes of Hyrcanus began to look very dark. Cæsar liberated Aristobulus II. for the express purpose of raising a diversion in Judæa; but, on his journey, the hapless king, who had worn for so short a time the uneasy crown which he had usurped from his indolent brother, was poisoned by the adherents of Pompey (B.C. 49). His elder and abler son, Alexander, was at the same time condemned to death and beheaded by Scipio. On August 9 (B.C. 48), Cæsar defeated Pompey in the great battle of Pharsalia, and the noble Roman was murdered by rascally Egyptians in a miserable cockboat, by order of Photinus, the Egyptian Regent (September 28). This might have seemed like a death-blow to Antipater; but with that subtle power of accommodating himself to change of circumstances for which he and his family were remarkable, he at once flung himself into the interests of Cæsar, and rendered him essential service during his rash war at Pelusium. He materially aided Mithridates of Pergamus, who was marching to Cæsar's relief, and persuaded the Jews of Egypt, who now formed a very numerous and important section of the inhabitants, to espouse his cause. When Mithridates was all but defeated by the Egyptians, Antipater hastened to his aid. He saved him from rout, and helped to pillage the Egyptian camp. He then effected a junction with Cæsar, and (B.C. 44) the united forces inflicted a decisive defeat on Ptolemy and his army. Cæsar was thus extricated from the serious peril into which he had so rashly plunged his fortunes by his mad infatuation for Cleopatra, the sorceress-queen of Egypt.

Such services claimed reward, and thenceforth Cæsar became a steady friend of the Idumæan and of his Jewish supporters. When Antigonus, the younger son of Aristobulus II., appeared before him in Judæa, and complained that he had been robbed of his father's kingdom by Antipater and Hyrcanus, Cæsar contemptuously dismissed him, confirmed

Hyrcanus in his High Priesthood and Ethnarchy,* and made Antipater a Roman citizen and Procurator (Ἐπίτροπος) of all Judæa (B.C. 47). He appointed his kinsman Sextus Cæsar governor of Syria. The Idumæan was now practically king, though nominally a minister of Hyrcanus. He was permitted to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, of which he made his elder son, Phasael, the governor, while he assigned the government of Galilee to his younger son HEROD, whose name is now for the first time heard in history.

To Herod's earliest achievements we shall return in the next chapter, but will here conclude the story of Antipater.

On March 15, B.C. 44, the Jews heard with absolute horror of the assassination of Cæsar, their persistent friend. They honoured his memory with a "bitter wailing," which excited the astonishment of the Romans,† who always regarded the Jews and their ceremonies with a mixture of awe and disdain as an incomprehensible phenomenon. But the Idumæan family were never disconcerted by political changes. Cassius, naturally avaricious, and in need of money to oppose the designs of Antony and Octavianus, laid exactions on the Jews so enormous that the entire inhabitants, including even the chief men of some towns (Gophna, Emmaus, Lydda and others), were sold as slaves to raise the 700 talents which were required.‡ In levying this tribute Antipater's party was aided by Malich, a leader of the Pharisaic faction. Herod won the favour of Cassius by prompt payment of his 100 talents; Malich was a defaulter, and would have been put to death if Hyrcanus had not paid the 100 talents,

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* Hyrcanus evinced his gratitude by sending to Rome a shield worth 1000 minae (Josephus, *Antt.* xiv. 8, 5). The Jews were then recognised by the Senate as allies of the Romans. Their community had been enormously increased by the number of Jewish slaves taken to Rome by Pompey and others. When Cicero was pleading the cause of Flaccus, they crowded the Forum in such menacing throngs that the orator had to speak in a whisper lest they should overhear him and cause a tumult.

† Suet., *Cæsar*, 84.

‡ Josephus, *Antt.* xv. 11, 2; *B. J.*. i. 11, 2, 3.

and Antipater had not interceded for him. But in the mind of this fierce and base religionist, gratitude was a far less powerful motive than fanaticism. Characterising Antipater as a "half-Jew," and pretending that it was necessary to save Hyrcanus from his dominance, he treacherously poisoned the man to whom he owed his life (B.C. 43). He managed to conceal his guilt, but it became known, and the two sons of Antipater, Phasael and Herod, only postponed their vengeance till Herod found an opportunity to get the traitor into his power. He was slain in the very presence of the horrified Hyrcanus, who at first fainted away, but was persuaded by Herod that Cassius required the deed, and that it was not only necessary but strictly just.

Thus, by the secret poison of a Pharisee, Antipater, the founder of the Herodian house, was ingloriously murdered. It was the fate of not a few of his descendants also to perish, as almost every prominent member of the Asmonæan family perished, by violent, tragic, or miserable deaths.

But he had already gratified the highest hopes of his ambition, and in Herod he left a son who inherited all his energy, his subtleness, his marked daring, his political ability, his magnificence, his personal beauty, and the singular powers of fascination by which he won over in succession even the greatest of the Romans to support his cause. Antipas had laid the foundation stone of the success of the family. Antipater built the superstructure. Herod put on it the coping-stone, and turned the tent of his Idumæan ancestors into a regal palace, which was regarded during his lifetime as one of the most splendid in the world.

CHAPTER VII.

Herod the Great.

"C'était en somme une fort belle bête, un lion à qui on ne tient compte que de son large encolure et de son épaisse crinière, sans lui demander le sens moral"—Renan, *Hist. du Peuple Israel*, v. 249.

Already, before his father's death, the young Herod had exhibited to the world his skilful diplomacy, his splendid person, his manly prowess, his high courage, and his unrivalled gifts.* Galilee was infested by brigands, who were probably in secret alliance with the Pharisaic party. They regarded themselves as maintainers of the independence of their nation, and practical successors of the early Chasidim. They made themselves the scourge and terror of the country. So long as they remained unchecked, neither commerce nor civilisation were possible. Herod, who was then but twenty-five years old,† attacked them with a skill, determination, and success which earned him the gratitude and admiration of Sextus Cæsar. Above all, he succeeded in capturing their renowned leader Hezekiah, and without hesitation he executed him and most of his band.

If the Sanhedrin of Jerusalem was to retain any vestige or semblance of authority, they could not overlook this assumption of the powers of life and death by one whose

* "His lance was unerring, and his arrow seldom missed its mark" (Josephus, *B. J.*, 1, 21, 13; Schürer, 1, i. 417).

† The text of Josephus (*Antt.* xiv. 9, 2), says fifteen, but this must be a mistake.

nominal position was only that of a lieutenant of their High Priest Hyrcanus.* They summoned Herod before their assembly. In accordance with all tradition, and with the respect due to them, he ought to have appeared in the humble guise of a suppliant. By the advice of Antipater, the youth presented himself in a very different attitude. He did not come alone, but surrounded by a life guard, in the midst of whom he stood haughty, self-confident, smiling, his dark locks elaborately dressed, and a purple robe floating over his bright armour. So far from condescending to offer the smallest defence of, or apology for, his conduct, he simply produced an order from Sextus Cæsar—"a hated alien"—to the Sanhedrin, directing them to acquit him. The grave rabbis were overawed by such audacity, and not one syllable was uttered in his condemnation, till the Nasi of the assembly rose to rebuke their pusillanimity, and warned them in a true prophecy that when Herod got the power, he would not pardon them as they seemed ready to pardon him, but would make them feel the full effects of his vengeance. To this President of the Sanhedrin Josephus gives the name of Sameas; but the Talmud, which is constantly loose and variant in all names and accurate details, calls him Simeon ben Shetach, who must have died long before this time.†

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* It is on this occasion that Josephus first uses the name Sanhedrin (*Synedrion*). But as early as the days of Antiochus the Great (B.C. 223), we read of a Jewish Senate (Γερουσία). For a full account of all that is ascertainable about the Sanhedrin, *see* Schürer, Div. ii. 1, § 22.

† We ought also to add that these stories, like all which rest on Talmudic authority, are exceedingly uncertain. There is a lack of any historic proof that the Sages ever did preside over the *real* Sanhedrin; or that the Sanhedrin was a Council of Scribes, with two leading Rabbis as Nasi and Ab-beth-Din. No scholastic Nasi is alluded to (apart from the High Priest) in the New Testament or Josephus; nor is there any sign that the rabbis (a title later than Hillel's time) ever exercised any political authority (*see* Josephus, *Antt.* xx. 9, 1). In the New Testament the Sanhedrin is summoned by the High Priest Ananias, and throughout the Acts the President is never one of the rabbis, but always the High Priest (Acts v. 17-23; vii. 1; ix. 1, 2; xxiii. 2-5; xxiv. 1), just as in the Gospels (Matt. xxvi. 62-65, etc.).

If the story be exact, the President was probably the stern and celebrated Shammai, the rival of Hillel, and the head of a school opposed to the popular Hillelites in all the minutiæ of legal casuistry.*

The Sanhedrin and the Pharisaic party, who now constituted the dominant religious and nationalist sect, had for some time been headed by pairs of teachers—the Nasi (Prince) and the Ab-beth-Din (Father of the House of Judgment)—who are known as *Zougoth* ("Couples"), or *Eschcoloth* ("Clusters"). They began (about B.C. 150?) with Antigonus of Socho, who left his authority to Joses ben Joezer, and Joses ben Johanan. It was the custom of the rabbis to indicate the teaching of each sage by one special maxim.

The saying of Joses ben Joezer was: "Let thine abode be a meeting-place of sages; cover thyself with the dust of their feet, and eagerly drink their words."

Joses ben Johaneth said: "Let the poor be children of thy house. Speak not much with a woman."

These were followed by Joshua ben Perachia and Nitai of Arbela in the times of John Hyrcanus I.

The motto of Joshua ben Perachiah was: "Submit to a master; acquire a friend, and be lenient in judgment."

That of Nitai of Arbela was: "Keep far from an evil neighbour; do not choose an impious friend; and be sure of (future) punishment."

These, it will be said, are far from recondite instructions; but they were probably aimed at doctrines and practices of

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* There is great confusion and uncertainty about the two names. Josephus (*Antt.* xv. 1, 1) says that the Presidents were Pollio and Sameas; Josippon says Hillel and Shammai. The Talmud (Shabbath, f. 15, 1) says that Hillel was Nasi a century before the destruction of Jerusalem, but in Baba Bathra, *J.*, 3, 2, we read that Bava ben Buta, whom Herod blinded, was a disciple of Shammai (Munk, p. 545; Prideaux, 1, 569; Derenbourg, pp. 88, 93, 456). The information about the "Couples" is very shifting (*see* Edersheim, *Hist. of Jewish People*, p. 522).

the rival Sadducees, and so have a deeper meaning than appears on the surface.

The next "Couples" were Simeon ben Shetach and Juda ben Tobai, in the days of Alexander Jannæus. The former is chiefly famous for his disputes and collisions with Jannæus, and the autocracy which he exercised over his widow Salome.

After them followed Shemaiah, whose maxim was:—"Love work; hate domination; have no relations with the government"—a maxim which indicates the growing alienation of the Pharisees from Hyrcanus and his supporters. His Ab-beth-Din was Abtalion. Some take these to be the Sameas and Pollio of Josephus, but the whole question of their identity is surrounded by uncertainties.

These were succeeded by Shammai and Hillel, the most celebrated of the "Couples," whose "binding" and "loosing" debates resound through the Talmudic writings, and turn for the most part on matters of quite infinitesimal significance.*

The incident of the trial of Herod before the terrified Sanhedrin is told in the Talmud (Sanhedrin, 19, 1) in veiled form, and with altered names.

"Why ought not the Sanhedrin to submit to its tribunal the kings of Israel? A slave of Jannæus committed a murder, and Simeon ben Shetach advised the Sanhedrin to judge him. They sent to Jannæus, saying, 'Your slave has committed a murder.' He handed over the slave to their jurisdiction. Then they said: 'Come yourself also, for the Law says (Exod. xxi. 28), "If the thief be not found, then the master of the house shall be brought before the judges."'†

* The tradition was continued by Rabban Gamaliel; by his son Simon, who recommended silence and study; and by Rabban Simon ben Gamaliel, who said that the world subsists by three things—justice, truth, and unity (Schürer, § 25). After the removal of the Scribes to Jamnia and Lydda, the prominent names are Johanan ben Zakkai, Gamaliel II., Joshua ben Chananiah, and, above all, Aqiba, Judah the Holy, Meir, etc.

† Lit. "before God" (Elohim), but the word here may mean "the judges," as representing "the judgment court of God" as it is rendered in the Septuagint. The quotations partly turn on rabbinic inferences.

The king entered and seated himself. 'Rise, O King,' said the President, 'for thou art not summoned before *us*, but before Him who made the world, as it is said in Deuteronomy xix. 17, "Then both the men between whom the controversy is shall stand before the Lord, before the priests, and the judges which shall be in those days."' 'I shall not follow *your* decision,' said Jannæus, 'but that of your colleagues.' Simeon turned to the right and to the left, but all the Sanhedrin remained silent from fear. 'God shall chastise your silence,' said Simeon; and on the instant Gabriel flung them to the earth, and they died." Jannæus is meant for Hyrcanus II.; the slain ox for Hezekiah;* the murderous slave for Herod, whom the Talmudists hate with a perfect hatred, and on whom they heap the most revolting calumnies.

It might have been supposed that the harmless and vacillating Hyrcanus, always a mere tool in the hands of others, would excite no violent animosity; but he shared the odium which had been gradually accumulating against his family ever since the day when Jonathan—though only of the family of Joiarib—accepted the High Priesthood. M. Derenbourg quotes from the Talmud several expressions of this abhorrence.†

R. Levi said: "Joiarib (God shall contend with him) is the name of the man: Meron ('revolt'—a play on Modin) their city; Massarbei ('rebels'—a play on Makkabei) implies that he has delivered the Temple to enemies." Rabbi Berachiah explained the names to mean "God has contended against His children, because they have rebelled against him" (Taanith, iv. 8, 68, *d*).

Origen found the words, *Sarbeth Sarbaney El* ("Rebellion," and "Rebels against God" inscribed on the Books of

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* Rashi's comment is that "a slave is considered as an animal" (Hershon, *Treasures of Talmud*, 248).

† Geiger, *Urschrift*, 204; Derenbourg, 119.

Maccabees.* The pious Mattathias, the hero Judas, the wise and beloved Simon, the martyr-soldier Eleazar, and the pious early Chasidim, might well have been amazed to be told that the heroic uprising, in which they sacrificed their lives and their all, and fled into the wilderness in sheepskins and goatskins—destitute, afflicted, tormented—would, centuries later, be branded by the narrow and bitter zealots of a Pharisaic religionism as "a revolt against God." But religious partisanship is ever narrow, bitter, calumnious, indiscriminating; it invariably condemns as wicked and heretical all who diverge from its own dogmatic opinions or ritual standard, however mean and miserable those opinions and that standard may be.

Again the story is told that the High Priest (apparently Hyrcanus II.) was one day coming, attended by the people, from the Temple, where he had just uttered the solemn words of forgiveness on the Day of Atonement. The people, however, caught sight of the "Couple" of the day, Shemaia and Abtalion, and immediately left the High Priest and followed the rabbis. "Hail to the men of the people!" said the High Priest to them in scorn, implying that they were mere *am-haratsim*, or "nobodies." "Hail," they replied, "to the men of the people who do the work of Aaron, not to the sons of Aaron, who do not imitate him."

Even if there were no such stories in the Talmud, the alienation of the rabbinic schools from the Asmonæan family would be sufficiently indicated by their strained and sullen silence. Even to Judas "the Hammerer," the Talmudists scarcely allude, although had it not been for him, Judæa would have become a Pagan annex of the Syrian kingdom. It might have been supposed, *à priori*, that the festival of the *Chanukka*, or Encænia, the great re-dedication and purification of the Temple by the Asmonæan

* De Wettè and Grimm explain the words to mean "History of the princes of the Sons of God."

hero, would have kindled the enthusiastic sympathy of the teachers of the Law; yet no treatise of the Mishnah or the Gemara is devoted to its ceremonies.

But although Herod had defied the Sanhedrin, Hyrcanus, familiar by lifelong experience with the unscrupulous recklessness of religious fanaticism, felt anxious lest Herod should fall a victim to the dagger of some Pharisaic assassin. As no other rabbi except Shammai ventured to speak out, the High Priest followed the injunction of Sextus Cæsar, and dismissed the Sanhedrin, at the same time recommending the young Idumæan to leave Jerusalem. Herod did so; but ten years later he fulfilled the prophecy of the Nasi, and got rid of the old hostile nobility by a massacre of the Sanhedrists, only sparing the lives of Shammai himself, whose courage he respected, and of Abtalion (or Pollio), the Ab-beth-Din, whose failure to support the President had no doubt saved Herod from excommunication or sentence. Herod for the time fled to the protection of Sextus Cæsar, who not only approved his conduct, but made him Governor of Coele-Syria. He got together an army, and advanced to Jerusalem to chastise the Sanhedrin; but he was dissuaded from his intended vengeance by his father and his brother Phasael. This was in B.C. 43. In B.C. 42 the battle of Philippi finally destroyed the hopes of Brutus and Cassius, and extinguished the possibility of resisting the power of Mark Antony and Octavianus. Antony now had the control of the East, and Herod, after the fashion of his family, partly by large bribes, partly by personal fascination, partly by recalling the services of Antipater to Cæsar, at once insinuated himself so effectually into the good graces of Antony, that they remained fast friends during the remainder of the Triumvir's life. In spite of vehement complaints from the Jews, Antony would listen to nothing urged against Herod, and would have put his fifteen accusers to death at Antioch but for the intercession of Hyrcanus. By Herod's advice he granted most favourable concessions

to the Jewish nation; and as Hyrcanus frankly admitted that there were no more capable administrators of the country than Herod and Phasael, Antony made them tetrarchs. When a thousand Jews came to Antony at Tyre to insist on their grievances, he regarded the deputation as a menace, and sent his soldiers to kill and wound some of them, to show that he did not mean to be resisted or trifled with.

But about this time (B.C. 40) the career of Herod became very troubled. Antigonus, the younger son of Aristobulus II., was devoured by a restless determination to recover the Asmonæan princedom. At this time the Parthians were asserting themselves under their King Pacorus. Antigonus promised Pacorus a bribe of 1000 talents, and 500 women of the noblest Jewish families if he would restore him to the throne. Pacorus sent his general Barzapharnes, and his cupbearer, who was also called Pacorus, into Judæa. By their aid Antigonus entered Jerusalem.* He and his party occupied the city, while the Hyrcanians and Herod were entrenched in the Baris. The sanguinary outbreaks between the followers of the two parties were rendered more dangerous by the numbers of the pilgrims to the Feast of Pentecost, who joined one or other of the factions. Under pretence of ending this deplorable civil war, Antigonus persuaded the High Priest to admit the cupbearer Pacorus into Jerusalem, with 500 horsemen, to act as umpire. At a banquet in the House of Hyrcanus, Phasael and Hyrcanus were persuaded to go with Antigonus to Barzapharnes, and there settle their disputes by arbitration. It was a base plot into which Antigonus beguiled them. Pacorus conducted them with every appearance of honour to Galilee, and there handed them over to the power of Antigonus and

* The picturesque aspect and murderous fury of the Parthians left a deep impression on Jewish minds, and there may be a reminiscence of this invasion in the description of the Scorpion warriors in Rev. ix. 1-11.

another body of cavalry. Phasael, partly from suspicious circumstances in the conduct of his escort, partly from a conversation which he overheard, became all but convinced, in spite of the perjured asseverations and oaths of Pacorus, that he was being hurried to his doom. He might have escaped, but by a touch of chivalry, he would not leave the aged and helpless Hyrcanus. They were at once gagged and thrown into prison, and the only reason for the brief delay in dealing with them was because the conspirators hoped to entrap the far more formidable Herod. He had, however, been suspicious, and on his guard from the first; and when he received secret intimation from Phasael that the Parthians seemed to be meditating treachery, he fled from Jerusalem by night. This was in B.C. 37, and from this time till B.C. 34, Antigonus assumed the title of King of the Jews, putting on one side of his coins the Greek inscription "Antigonus Basileus," and on the other side in Hebrew "Matthatjah the High Priest."

His first object was to incapacitate Hyrcanus for ever from holding the High Priesthood, and this he did by having his ears cut off; for the Levitic Law (Lev. xxi. 17-23) had restrained anyone who had any personal blemish from performing the functions of the Temple service. Hyrcanus knelt for mercy at the feet of Antigonus, but the ambitious Asmonæan was utterly devoid of generosity or pity. According to one story, almost too odious to believe, he himself "bit off" the old man's ears * while he knelt as a suppliant before him. He then sent him to the Parthians, who carried him captive to Seleucia on the Tigris. There, we are glad to know, that the weary and harmless plaything of Fortune was kindly welcomed and treated with honourable respect by the Babylonian Jews.

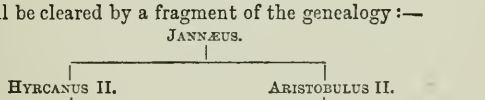
Far more terrible was the lot of Phasael. His misfortune plunged him into despair. He saw in it the ruin of all the

* Josephus, *B. J.*, i. 13, 9 : αὐτὸς τὰ ὦτα λωβᾶται τοῖς ὀδοῦσιν.

ambitious plans of himself and of his family. Humiliated by his lack of caution in having permitted himself to be entrapped, he determined to take refuge in suicide, and having no means at hand to end his life, he dashed his head against his prison wall. The days were full of hideous rumours, and it was asserted that, as his wounds were not mortal, they were poisoned by the Parthian physicians. The sole consolation of his death lay in the knowledge that Herod had escaped and would avenge him. So died by violence the second of the House of Antipater, who had been eager to climb the dizzy path of ambition. Antipater and Phasael were to be followed to dooms equally tragic by many another scion of their successful family.

The fortunes of Herod himself never sank to a lower ebb than after this disaster. In his night escape from Jerusalem he took with him his mother Kypros, his sister Salome, the beautiful Asmonæan princess Mariamne, who had long been his affianced bride, and her mother Alexandra, who was the daughter of Hyrcanus. Herod had placed high hopes in his betrothal to Mariamne, a girl of peerless beauty, to whom he was attached with all the passionate ardour of his nature. She united in her own person the rival claims of the Asmonæan house; for she was the granddaughter of Hyrcanus, who represented the direct Maccabæan line, and her mother Alexandra was the widow of Alexander, the elder son of King Aristobulus II., the elder brother of the present King Antigonus.* Herod was only awaiting less troubled days to complete his marriage with her, which, as he knew, would give to his future claims a certain semblance of legiti-

* This will be cleared by a fragment of the genealogy:—



macy, and would soften some of the deadly antipathy which the Jews felt to the rule of an Idumæan alien. It was to secure this marriage,—so unnatural, when we remember that Antipater had a share in the execution of Mariamne's father Alexander—that Phasael and Herod had more than once condoned the vacillations of Hyrcanus.

They fled towards Masada, a strong fortress on the west of the Dead Sea. Their journey was surrounded with perils and alarms. They had constantly to fight and repel the enemies who harassed Herod's retreat, until his younger brother Joseph joined him with fresh troops. Herod's spirits sank so low, and his fortunes seemed to be so broken, that he determined to follow the example of Phasael, and to commit suicide. His friends with difficulty dissuaded him from his design, and at last they reached in safety the dreary castle. There Herod dismissed 9000 of his soldiers, and left the fortress under the charge of Joseph, with the bodyguard of 800, for whom alone there was shelter. He himself, with a small contingent, went to Petra, in order, if possible, to secure the assistance of King Malchus. But the Arabian prince refused to receive him. Forced therefore to disband his remaining soldiers, he only reserved a small escort, and struggled through numerous hardships by Rhinocolura to Pelusium, and so to Alexandria. He at once took ship to Brundusium, and thence hurried to Rome.

At Rome he was welcomed both by Antony and Octavianus.* He at first requested that his future brother-in-law, the young and beautiful Aristobulus, might be made King and High Priest in the place of Hyrcanus, and that he himself might be a governor under the young Asmonæan as his father Antipater had been under Hyrcanus. This was his ostensible proposition; what secret intrigues took place, or whether Herod bribed Antony in his own behalf, we do not know. But now occurred the most amazing revolution

* Josephus, *Antt.* xiv. 14; Appian., *Bell. Civ.* v. 75.

in Herod's fortunes. He managed, by his personal qualities, to obtain a certain ascendency over the minds both of Antony and Octavianus, and they united in nominating him King of the Jews. This was in B.C. 37, and Herod, walking between Antony and Octavianus, was at once conducted to the Capitol, where, with the strangely incongruous accompaniment of solemn sacrifices to Jupiter Capitolinus, which caused deep disgust to the Jews, he was inaugurated in his new kingdom. So amazing was his energy that all this was accomplished in a single week—certainly the most memorable in his life. Before the seven days were over, unintoxicated by his astounding success, unseduced by the splendours, luxuries, and dissipations of Rome, he had rejoined his ships at Brundusium. He had come to Rome a hunted and ruined exile; he left it with purple and diadem. Within three months of his flight from Jerusalem in the midnight darkness, with his life in his hand, and amid prospects so calamitous that he had been barely snatched from suicide, he landed again at Ptolemais as King of the Jews, under the support and protection of the haughty Romans, who were the arbiters of the destinies of the world!

His first object was to rescue his imprisoned family from the dreary gloom of the fortress of Masada. It was under blockade from Antigonus, and Herod at once raised the siege. But his troubles were by no means ended. He received but lukewarm support from Ventidius, whom Antony had placed in command of the East. Silo, the general of Ventidius, took bribes from Antigonus, maltreated Herod's own soldiers, and plundered Jericho, which Herod had stored with provisions.

Unable under these circumstances to drive Antigonus from Jerusalem, Herod employed his soldiers elsewhere. To his brother Joseph he assigned the conquest of Ituræa; to his brother Pheroras the charge of the commissariat. He himself advanced through the winter snows to Galilee, and in skirmish after skirmish energetically repressed the swarms

of brigands. He drove the greater number of them across the Jordan. Some of them, however, took refuge near Arbela, in the caves of the Wady Hammam, among the inaccessible rocks of the "Vale of Doves." Herod's energetic resourcefulness was not to be thwarted by difficulties. Since a single boy could have defended against multitudes the precipitous winding paths by which alone the caverns were approachable from below, he placed strong windlasses on the summit of the cliffs, and let down his soldiers in huge chests to fight the robbers hand to hand. In order finally to extirpate them from the inmost recesses, he ordered huge fires to be lit at the cavern mouths, so that all within were suffocated by the smoke. Unwilling to fall into the hands of the soldiers, one old chief first killed his wife and children, and after throwing their bodies down the precipice, flung himself headlong after them. Galilee for many subsequent years was delivered from an intolerable affliction, and enjoyed unwonted peace.

The war with Antigonus was renewed after the winter, and Herod, discontented with the slackness and bad faith of Silo and Machaeras, the Roman officers, went to Samosata to lay his complaints before Antony himself. Antony sent Sosius to help him. Herod's brother Joseph had been left in Judea under orders not to fight till he received reinforcements. Neglecting the command, he hazarded an engagement. He was defeated and slain, and Antigonus sent his head to Herod. Herod defeated Pappus, the general of Antigonus, and in revenge sent his head to his brother Pheroras.* A cold winter compelled the postponement of future efforts till the spring of B.C. 38. By that time Herod's forces had been joined by a large army under Sosius. The siege of Jerusalem —in spite of the fact that the inhabitants of the city were exhausted by famine, which was always severest in Sabbatical years—was protracted for more than six months. During its

* Josephus, *Antt.* xiv. 15, 10.

course Herod went to Samaria, and completed his marriage with the hapless Mariamne, by which he hoped immensely to strengthen his claims to the throne. The city was finally taken on a Sabbath (B.C. 37), on the anniversary of its entry by Pompey (B.C. 64).

Sosius and the Roman army were so infuriated by the long delay of the siege of Jerusalem, that they delivered that most unfortunate of all cities to pillage and massacre. It was only by the utmost exertion of his influence and the freest promises of ransom that Herod saved the populace from extermination on the Sabbath on which the city was captured. He was also fortunate enough to induce Sosius to keep back his soldiers from the invasion and profanation of the Temple, which would have left behind it a legacy of hatred fatal to Herod's designs.

King Antigonus was brought captive into the presence of the Roman general. Overwhelmed with this culmination of the calamities which had so long pursued his fallen and hapless race, he was unable to maintain the dignity of the last prince of a famous and heroic line. With floods of tears he flung himself at the feet of Sosius. The coarse and unfeeling Roman taunted him with his pusillanimity, spurned him from his presence, and added the crowning insult of addressing him as *Antigona*, as though he were a mere woman. But a still deadlier catastrophe awaited him. He was sent in chains to Antony at Antioch, and Antony, on being assured by Herod that troubles could never cease while he lived, ordered the unfortunate king to be first scourged as a criminal* then beheaded by the axe of the common lictor.† Plutarch and Dion Cassius note that he was the first king who was put to death in this ignominious manner, as though he had been the lowest born of malefactors.

So after about 130 years ended the line of the Priest-

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* Plut., *Anton.* 36 ; Liv., *Epit.* 128.

† Dion. Cassius (xlix. 22) says that he was crucified.

Kings of the splendid Asmonæan line. Their suns set in obscure darkness and seas of blood, while it yet was day. In proportion to the dazzling eminence of their success was the unspeakable humiliation of their downfall. Their fortunes had begun with a Mattathias, and they ended with the Mattathias, who preferred this designation to his heathen name Antigonus. They emerged from a moderate position by unrivalled faithfulness and heroism amid the darkest days of their country's adversity. But ambition had gained possession of their minds. One after another of them had been *Victor hostium*, but not *sui*. They wore the diadem of the King, and the mitre of the High Priest, but no self-conquest had crowned and mitred them over themselves. They had come to think less of their country than of their dynasty, and less of their religion than of their personal interests. Their difficulties indeed, amid times of foreign aggression and domestic rivalry, had been immense, perhaps insuperable; and their days were passed at Jerusalem in a hotbed of contending factions, agitated by the sullen and fanatical furies inspired by religious differences. Perhaps by inflexible faithfulness and self-denying simplicity they might have saved themselves from destruction and their memory from the hatred of their countrymen; but the ambitious, who have fought their way to power by diplomacy and maintained it by cruelty, are among those—

> "Quos semper anteit saeva Necessitas
> Clavos trabales et cuneos manu
> Gestans ahena."

The crown of irregular supremacy has always proved to be

> "A golden but a fatal circle,
> Upon whose magic skirts a thousand devils
> In crystal forms sit tempting innocence,
> And beckon early virtue from its centre."

We might feel a deeper pity for this insulted, scourged,

and decapitated king, if he had not so vilely misused his own brief day of power, and if he had shown even a touch of compassion for the harmless Hyrcanus. But he shall have judgment without mercy who, like Antigonus, has shown no mercy.

And thus, unwarned by the disasters which had so abundantly befallen his predecessors, of whom scarcely more than one had escaped a violent or tragic death by murder, or decapitation, or suicide, or poison, or starvation, or—

> "In the lost battle, borne down by the flying,
> Where mingles war's rattle with groans of the dying;"

unwarned even by the poisoning of his father Antipater, the horrible suicide of his brother Phasael, the death in defeat of his brother Joseph, Herod thought that he had reached the dawn of many golden days when, as the husband of the beautiful Asmonæan princess, he, though but an alien intruder, and more than half a heathen alike in his utter indifferentism and his cosmopolitan vices, became, by the grace of the Romans, "Herod, King of the Jews." *

It is said that Menahem the Essene had prophesied to Herod, when he was only a boy of twelve, that he should attain this dignity.† Similar prophecies are recorded of Galba and of our Henry VII. The little Herod had entirely disbelieved him at the time, but Menahem, with a smile, slapped him on the back, and bade him remember the prophecy by that blow.‡

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* In Hebrew the name is הרודוס, which Hamburger explains to mean "Heldenspross" (*Real-Encyclop.* ii. 880). Herod was born about B.C. 73.

† The Essenes opposed the Asmonæan princes.

‡ Josephus, *Antt.* xv. 10, 5.

REIGN OF HEROD THE GREAT.

	B.C.
Battle of Pharsalia	48
Battle of Philippi	42
Herod and Phasael appointed tetrarchs by Antony	41
Herod flies to Rome	40
Herod conquers Jerusalem	37
Return of Hyrcanus II.	36
Murder of the young High Priest, Aristobulus III.	35
Herod visits Antony at Laodicea	34
Execution of Joseph, husband of Salome	
Cleopatra visits Jerusalem	
War of Herod with Arabians	32
Earthquake at Jerusalem	
Battle of Actium	31
Herod confirmed in the kingdom by Octavianus	31
Execution of Hyrcanus II.	30
Execution of Mariamne	29
Execution of Alexandra	28
Execution of Costobar	27
Samaria (Sebaste) rebuilt	27
Plague and famine	25
Adornment of Cæsarea	25
Alexander and Aristobulus sent to Rome	23
Herod visits Agrippa in Lesbos	22
Begins to rebuild the Temple	20
Return of Alexander and Aristobulus	18
Agrippa in Jerusalem	15
Herod's home troubles; Antipater recalled	14
Herod accuses his sons at Rome	12
Arabian campaign	(?) 9
Alexander and Aristobulus strangled	7
Death of Pheroras	5
Revolt of Judas and Matthias	4
Birth of Jesus	4
Antipater executed. Herod dies	4

CHAPTER VIII.

Herod, King of the Jews.

"Regnum ab Antonio Herodi datum victor Augustus auxit."
—Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 9.

Herod was King of the Jews, and from that day forward his life was a life of gilded misery, while the fires of hell burned on his hearth, and his palace was haunted by the shadows of murdered victims "with bright hair dabbled in blood." He might have envied the lot of the very meanest of his subjects who, amid life's inevitable trials, could still believe in a Heaven, and enjoy a home.

His first footsteps were red with blood. Antigonus, not from any qualities of his own, but as an heir of the priestly line and an inheritor of heroic traditions, still had many followers, and all the chief of them were immediately put to death. Then Herod indulged his long-delayed vengeance upon the hostile Sanhedrin. Throughout the tedious siege they had encouraged the people to resistance with promises of supernatural aid, which would surely be manifested even after the moment of extremest peril. The "Couple" alone—Shammai the Nasi, and Hillel the Ab-beth-Din, if the conjecture is correct which identifies them with the Sameas and Pollio of Josephus—had advised the people to capitulate, because in their opinion, the force of circumstances, in which they recognised the manifest will of Heaven, pointed to the acceptance of Herod as the fore-ordained ruler of the

land.* On this account Herod spared their lives. After this they withdrew altogether from the embroilment of alien intrusions and political complications, while they devoted their lives to Levitic studies, and absorbed the attention of their numerous disciples in the elaboration of "Halachoth," or technical religious rules derived from the Torah of Moses. These "Aboth" and "Toldoth," or primary and secondary rules, were based on those impossible inferences from single perverted phrases, which have often rendered ecclesiasticism so contemptible.† The occupation of the rabbis at this time consisted in tracing "the ever-widening spiral *ergo* from the narrow aperture of single texts."

The emphatic testimony of our Lord, and His stern denunciation of the Pharisaic spirit, to say nothing of the entire teaching of St Paul, St Peter, St John, and St James, prove the deadly consequences of thus reducing religion to externalism, and pandering to that idle falsity of the human heart which substitutes easy liturgical accuracies for moral sincerity. The Law itself, in its loftiest passages, condemned those who thus professed to devote their lives to its protection and elaboration. In the Ten Commandments there is not a syllable about minute ritual, and the Book of Deuteronomy taught the Jews that "the word is very nigh unto thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that thou shouldst do it."‡ Such too was the unvaried teaching of all the greatest

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*A Sanhedrin of some sort continued to exercise limited legal functions (*συνέδριον*, Matt. v. 22; Mark xiv. 55; Luke xxii. 66; John xi. 4, 7; Acts iv. 15; xxiv. 20, etc.; *Πρεσβυτήριον*, Luke xxii. 6, and Acts xxii. 5; *γερουσία*, Acts v. 21), which Josephus also calls *βουλή*. It continued to exist till A.D. 70. We see from the New Testament that it was composed of chief priests, scribes, and elders.

† *See* Matt. xxiii. 4; Luke xi. 46. "The Israelite, zealous for the Law, was obliged at every moment to ask himself, What is commanded? At every step, at work, at prayer, at meals, at home, abroad, from early morning till late evening, from youth to age, the dead and deadening formula followed him. A healthy moral life could not flourish under such a burden."—Schürer, Div. II. 2, p. 125.

‡ Deut. xxx. 14.

Prophets. Amid the sickly dominance of an official priesthood they taught with one voice that what the Lord requires of us is only to do justice, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with our God, and that "Morality is the one essential thing in the world." Christ refused any sanction to the insolent exclusiveness of religious partisanship. "Against unfruitful self-sanctification he sets up another principle of morals, the humble love for and service of our fellow-men."

It was now necessary for Herod to appoint a High Priest. Hyrcanus had become legally disqualified by the physical blemish inflicted on him by Antigonus, and no other representative of the Asmonæan line was as yet of legal age. As Herod could not be High Priest himself, he determined at least to keep the appointment in his own hand, so as to have the holder of it under his own subjection. He therefore turned his eyes to the densely populous communities of Jews in Babylon, and picked out from among them some candidate for the High Priesthood, who, being personally obscure, would be hoped be politically insignificant.* Hananeel of Babylon, on whom Herod's choice fell, is identified by Derenbourg with the Annas of the Gospels, whose name acquired so sombre a pre-eminence in the Gospel narrative of Christ's condemnation. This nominee of the Idumæan king resumed his interrupted office after the murder of the young Aristobulus III., and he was thought to have attained the summit of human felicity, because not only he himself, but five of his sons in succession, as well as his son-in-law, enjoyed the stately splendour of the Pontificate. That son-in-law was Joseph Caiaphas.

Not content with this, Herod wished to get Hyrcanus into his hands, lest the Asmonæan party should still attempt to utilise him for foreign intrigues or domestic tumults. Hyrcanus was then residing at Seleucia in semi-royal dignity,

* Josephus, *Antt.* xv. 2, 4.

surrounded by the respectful enthusiasm of the Jews of the Dispersion. In spite of dissuasion, he accepted the offers of Herod, and was at first received with profound deference. He might have died in ease and honour, if he had not, after many years, suffered himself to be whirled into the eddies of those ambitious plots which, year after year, swept so many of the inhabitants of Jerusalem into the vortex of hopeless ruin.

Many of the events in the reign of Herod, especially those which affect his relations with the Sanhedrin, are still merged in uncertainty, which is enhanced by the innuendoes and enigmas of the Talmud. Probably the Sanhedrin practically abnegated its public functions, and became little more than a school for theoretical discussion. We are told, however, that at this time the text (Deut. xvii. 15) "One from among thy brethren shalt thou set king over thee: thou mayest not set a stranger over thee who is not thy brother," began to be prominently discussed in the Pharisaic Schools. Herod, on inquiring who it was that dwelt so strongly upon this prohibition, was told "the rabbis." Therefore he had them all put to death except Baba ben Buta, whose eyes he put out, only saving his life because he needed his counsel.* The legend adds that it was from Baba ben Buta that he subsequently received the counsel to rebuild the Temple as an expiation for his crimes.

Herod then set his court in order, and for the most part chose his officials wisely.† Dositheus and Joseph were financial superintendents. Costobar, Sheykh of Idumæa, the second husband of Herod's sister Salome, was entrusted with the charge of the great caravan road; and had command in the army with the Idumæan Sohem and Achiab, the king's

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* Baba Bathra, f. 3, 2; f. 4, 1 (Hershon, *Treasures*, p. 243).

† Josephus only once gives Herod the title "the Great," and only in contrast to all the *little* Herods who succeeded him. It has even been supposed that "ὁ μέγας" only means "the elder," in which sense Helkias receives the same title.

cousin. The wealthy merchant Saramala of Antioch, who had induced Hyrcanus to return from Parthia, and had suggested Hananeel for the high-priestly office, helped Herod in foreign matters. Menahem the Essene* was believed to possess insight into the future, and had prophesied when Herod was a child that he should be a king—just as Tiberius had prophesied to Galba, and Henry VI. to the little Richmond. He would not be induced to take any active part for Herod, but when Herod asked whether he should reign for ten years, Menahem answered: "Yes, twenty; yes, thirty;" and after that Herod desired no more. The Pharisees, every one of them—even Shemaiah and Abtalion—stood coldly aloof. Six thousand of them, rather than swear allegiance to Herod, underwent a fine, which was paid for them by the slave-wife of Herod's favourite brother Pheroras. But Herod was exceptionally fortunate in enlisting the services of two most accomplished Greeks, Nicolaus and Ptolemæus of Damascus, who rendered him essential services. Ptolemæus was an able and an honest financier. Nicolaus was one of the most distinguished literary men of his day —one of those men of brilliant intellect and encyclopædic attainments who may have suggested to Mr Browning his sketch of

> "Cleon, the poet from the sprinkled isles,
> Lily on lily which o'erlace the sea,
> And laugh their pride when the light wave lisps 'Greece.'"

He was a naturalist, interested in rare species of plants; a metaphysician, who commented on Aristotle; a poet, who,

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* Josephus, *Antt.* xv. 10, 5.

Menahem, perhaps a father of this Essene, is mentioned in Acts xiii. 1, as having been a "foster-brother of Herod"—apparently Herod Antipas.

There is a doubt about the meaning of σύντροφος, "collactaneus"; it may mean only "comrade" (*comp.* συμπαίκτορες; Xen., *Cyrop.* 1, 3, 14). If so, Menahem must have been brought up at Rome. Josephus says that for his sake Herod honoured all Essenes.

among other dramas, doubtless meant to be acted in Herod's theatre, wrote one on the story of Susanna; an historian, who published an universal history in 144 books, ending with the reign of Augustus; a courtier, whose elegant manners were everywhere admired: a lawyer and orator, whose ingenious eloquence often stood his master in good stead.* He wrote a life of Herod, which unhappily is no longer extant. His fame lent unwonted lustre to the court of Jerusalem, and secured him easy access to the Imperial circle at Rome. But the worst types of the *Græculus esuriens* were sure also to find a footing for their all-accomplished and subservient villainy as parasites of the wealthiest of Eastern Courts. They were represented in the Herodian circle by the rhetorician Irenæus, and the villainous Lacedæmonian spy and plotter Eurycles, who sold his services to every highest bidder with impartial baseness.† When a Spartan was base, he was usually among the basest of mankind.

Herod had up to this time moulded circumstances to his will with an almost superhuman energy and capacity; but henceforth ambition led him into entanglements in which retributive Destiny became too strong for him. He could not escape the adamantine link which indissolubly units sin to punishment. Poets of every age have felt that

> "Our acts our angels are, or good or ill,
> Our fatal shadows that walk by us still";

that

> "Our acts still follow with us from afar,
> And what we have been makes us what we are."

No stroke of policy seemed more consummate than that

* *See* Navet, *Nicolaus Damascenus*, 1853. The only extant remains of the biography of Nicolas of Damascus are published in Müller's *Fragmenta Hist. Græc.* iii. 348-355.

† Herod's reign has been divided into three periods: The period of consolidating power (B.C. 37–25); the period of prosperity (B.C. 25–13); the period of domestic trouble (B.C. 13–4). So, in the main, Klein, Ewald, and Schürer.

which united the King in marriage with the lovely Mariamne, whose grandfather he had ousted and whose father he had helped to slay; but that consummation of his good fortune contained in it every germ of his unspeakable retribution. Out of the event which looked like his most brilliant success, adversity formed "the iron scourge and torturing hour" of his remorse and ruin. In the volume of human life, says Georges Sand, "is found no more disastrous page than that on which are inscribed the two words—'gratified desires!'"

Herod had indulged in

"Hopes too high to keep or to resign."

The wild legend of the Talmud says that Mariamne mounted a roof, declared herself the sole survivor of the royal Asmonæan line, and that anyone else who pretended to the Jewish sovereignty was but a slave, and then flung herself down from the summit; and that Herod preserved her corpse for years in honey, and made it believed that she was still alive.* Such fictions are only echoes of the fanatical determination of the Jews under no circumstances to accept the domination of Herod, or to be reconciled to him. He expended upon them, as we shall see hereafter, the most immense and royal benefactions; he extended their kingdom beyond what had been its farthest frontiers even in the days of Solomon; he gave them wealth, commerce, distinction, prosperity, security: it was all in vain. His most splendid benefactions were marred by wilful or ignorant violations of their intensest prejudices, and if his generosity, and the advantages which he secured for them, ever moved them to the least relenting in their constant execration, the impulse of gratitude speedily gave way to the old inextinguishable hatred.

Three terrible elements of confusion and misery harassed

* Baba Bathra, f. 4, 1.

the Idumæan King from the beginning of his reign; three Furies, in the guise of evil women, with their ambitions, jealousies, and lusts, swept down from the first like harpies upon his public and private peace, with their shrieks and sounding wings.

1. One of these was CLEOPATRA, Queen of Egypt, one of the most beautiful, accomplished, and infamous women whom the world has ever seen.

In the practical division of the world between Octavianus and Antony, Antony had received the rule of all the East. Before his disastrous Persian war, he had summoned Cleopatra before him to answer for herself at Laodicæa. The abandoned Queen had previously mastered the affections of the great Julius Cæsar, and had all but ruined his fortunes, and cost him his life, after she had been carried into his presence in Egypt in a carpet tied round with ribbons.

Far different was the glamour with which she enchanted Antony at Laodicea. She clad herself in the guise of Aphrodite, and—

> "The barge she sat in like a burnish'd throne
> Burnt on the water; the poop was beaten gold;
> Purple the sails, and so perfumèd that
> The winds were lovesick with them. The oars were silver,
> Which to the tune of flutes kept stroke, and made
> The water, which they beat, to follow faster
> As amorous of the strokes. For her own person
> It beggar'd all description; she did lie
> In her pavilion (cloth of gold, of tissue)
> O'erpicturing that Venus where we see
> The fancy outwork nature. On each side her
> Stood pretty dimpled boys, like smiling Cupids,
> With divers-coloured fans, whose wind did serve
> To glow the delicate cheeks which they did cool,
> And what they undid, did."

From that moment till the hour of Antony's suicide and

of her own, she was absolute mistress of the impassioned and infatuated Roman. As Shakespeare says—

"She pursed up his heart upon the river of Cydnus."

Handsome, brave, gifted, fearless, and not naturally ungenerous—a faithful friend if also a relentless enemy—Antony might haply have been the glory and the deliverer of his country if he could have won the mastery over his lower self. But from boyhood upward he had lived in the most dissolute days of Rome, in the very midst of infinite corruption, the pupil and the favourite of the execrable Clodius. Not even ambition, not even the empire of the world, could divert him from the insane gratification of his lusts, and Cleopatra so entirely enslaved him to her seductions, that he could refuse her nothing, though he could not but have been aware that she was as completely faithless to his affections as she was treacherous to his interests. She won him by her banquets and monstrous revelries, and blasphemous riotous splendours; she dazzled him by the wild humours she showed—as when she hired divers to swim long distances under the water, and affix red herrings to his hook while he was fishing in the Nile; or when with reckless prodigality she won her wager of expending a million sesterces over a single banquet by swallowing in her wine a priceless pearl.

2. The second of these Furies was SALOME, the sister of Herod, of whose shameless love-intrigues and diabolical machinations we shall see more hereafter.

3. The third Fury of the Herodian House, from the day she entered it down to the day of her own execution, was ALEXANDRA, the daughter of Hyrcanus II., the widow of Alexander, eldest son of Aristobulus II., the mother of the young Aristobulus III., and of Mariamne. She never ceased to regard Herod as an Idumæan upstart, and a mere nobody. It was the secret hope and passion of her life to restore the Asmonæans. In her endeavours to carry out this end, there

was literally no infamy to which this wretched princess would not stoop; and unhappily for Herod, she was the bosom friend and correspondent of the still more abandoned Cleopatra, who used her machinations to promote her own personal designs.

As early as B.C. 36 she had begun her intrigues with Cleopatra in order to secure her immediate object of displacing the obscure Babylonian Hananeel from the High Priesthood, and forcing Herod to bestow it upon her young son Aristobulus III. In that year Quintus Dellius, one of the worst products of that vicious age, who had received rich rewards for acting as minister for the gratifications of Antony's most odious vices, had visited Jerusalem.* Alexandra had managed to secure a private interview with this Roman so deeply dyed in the worst wickedness of his times, and had purposely introduced him to Mariamne and to her son Aristobulus, then at the age of sixteen, and in all the bloom of his youthful beauty. Her villainous object was that he might be dazzled by their loveliness, and send an account of it to Antony. Worse than this, she actually gave to Dellius pictures of the two lovely Asmonæans, in the hope that Antony might send for them, and by bestowing on them the dregs of his infamous affections, might be induced to restore them to the throne of their ancestors.

Antony was at Laodicea, and though much inflamed by the descriptions of Dellius, would not send for Mariamne, both because she was the wife of his friend Herod, and because he was afraid of kindling the mad jealousy of Cleopatra, on whom at that time he was recklessly lavishing the crowns and revenues of alien principalities. He sent however for Aristobulus, and Herod, afraid of the influence which the beautiful youth might establish over him, immediately deposed Hananeel, and made Aristobulus High Priest, though he was under the legal age. He then wrote to

* Plut., *Anton.* 25; Seneca, *Suasor.* 1, 7; Hor., *Od.* ii. 8.

Antony that he could not possibly send the youth to Laodicea, lest his absence should excite a rebellion among the Jews. This promotion also conciliated many of Herod's opponents, though the Pharisees still secretly murmured that he had imitated the bad example of Antiochus Epiphanes in deposing an old man from the High Priesthood, and nominating a boy in his place who had not attained the age which the Law required.*

Most of the Jews however accepted Aristobulus with rapture and Herod's displeasure was awakened by the undisguised triumph expressed by Alexandra. Suspicious jealousy is the curse of tyrants, especially in the East, and Herod subjected Alexandra to such rigid confinement and insulting surveillance that she again wrote to Cleopatra. The Egyptian Queen—in pursuance of her own long-cherished secret desire to get Antony to add to her Egyptian dominions the crown of Palestine—advised Alexandra to fly from Jerusalem with her son. Accordingly Alexandra ordered two coffins to be prepared, in which she and Aristobulus were to be carried by night to the sea-coast, and there embarked for Laodicea. One of Herod's servants, named Sabbia, who was alarmed at his suspected complicity in the poisoning of Herod's father, revealed the plot to gain favour, but Herod, who was kept in perpetual alarm by the influence of Cleopatra, was forced to dissemble his indignation. Shortly afterwards Aristobulus had to perform the religious ceremonies at the Feast of Tabernacles. He did so with perfect grace and decorum, as he stood before the people in the blue and white and gold-embroidered robes of his office, with the golden plate gleaming on his forehead over his dark and flowing locks, and the jewelled Urim "ardent with gems oracular" upon his breast. The assembled multitudes welcomed him with applause so rapturously enthusiastic that Herod regarded it as a demonstration against himself, and a

* Josephus, *Antt.* xv. 3, 1.

designed contrast to the coldness of his own reception. Those acclamations were the poor boy's death-doom. Alexandra gave a sumptuous banquet in her son's honour in the shady balsam-gardens of Jericho (B.C. 35), and Herod attended it, in ostensible sign of reconciliation, and apparently in high good humour. After the banquet the king indulged in various games with Aristobulus, and then proposed that to cool themselves they should take a bath. The guests proceeded to the bath in a mood of noisy exhilaration. There the rough horse-play was continued, and amid all the splashing and uproarious laughter, Herod's servants, in pretended sport, pulled the young prince again and again under the water till he was drowned. In what Ewald calls "its bovine brutality and dark jealousy" this was one of the worst of Herod's crimes.

It was of course given out as a most deplorable and untoward accident. Herod assumed deep mourning, shed floods of tears, and poured forth his heart in hypocritical condolences to Alexandra and Mariamne. They more than suspected foul play, though they had to disguise their feelings. Herod ordered a splendid funeral. But amid all the semblable sorrow, the keen eyes of the king's many enemies detected the secret elation which he was unable entirely to conceal.

Because of these events Cleopatra induced Antony to summon Herod to appear before him at Laodicea. He well knew that the summons might mean his open condemnation or his secret murder, and the transference of his kingdom by Antony to the all-rapacious harlot of Egypt. Nevertheless he could not disobey. On starting, he entrusted the care of his kingdom to his uncle Joseph, with the mad command that if Antony should condemn him to execution, Joseph was to put to death not only Alexandra, whom Herod cordially and deservedly detested, but Mariamne, whom he most tenderly loved, in order that she might not fall a prey to the passions of Antony. Joseph faithfully watched over

nis nephew's fortunes, and only failed in one particular. In one of his numerous interviews with Mariamne, thinking to give her a proof of the king's devotion to her, he most unwisely revealed the secret that if Herod should be condemned in his trial at Laodicea, he had given orders for her assassination. A rumour reached Jerusalem that Herod had been put to death, and Alexandra was immediately on the alert to push her claims. But shortly afterwards letters came from Herod saying that Antonius, dismissing every charge against him, had placed him by his side at banquets, and that, after a most friendly reception, he was coming home greater than ever. On his return he embraced Mariamne in a transport of affection; but Mariamne asked how, if he really loved her as he professed, he could have left an order for her murder? At hearing that his secret had been revealed, Herod was seized with a paroxysm of fury, and at first ran at Mariamne with a drawn sword. He regarded Joseph's lack of reticence as a proof that she had been unfaithful to him. The odious Salome, who had grown tired of her old husband and uncle, purposely inflamed his suspicions, until he ordered Joseph to be executed without even hearing his defence, and flung Alexandra into prison.

Cleopatra now made no secret of the fact that her desire was to get Antony to confer on her the crown of Judæa. He had already vainly tried to sate her insatiable rapacity by giving her Greece, Cyprus, Phœnicia, Coele-Syria, Ituræa, and a great part of Cilicia and Crete. He now put Lysanias, tetrarch of Abylene, to death, and gave her his principality, which she leased to Zenodorus, tyrant of Paneas, who again crowded that district with brigands. And though the amorous triumvir would not dethrone his serviceable friend Herod, he further granted her a part of the domains of Malchus, King of Arabia, for whose tribute Herod was made responsible. Worse than all, he gave her the balsam-gardens of Jericho, which were close to Herod's

capital, and the choicest and most profitable estate in his kingdom. The Jewish king had the humiliation of leasing from her his own possessions for a yearly tribute of 200 talents. Cleopatra was already intriguing with Costobar, Sheykh of Idumæa, to whom, after the execution of his uncle Joseph, Herod had given his sister Salome in marriage. Herod dared not murmur, though, if we may trust his own subsequent account, he had, with all the boldness of an intimate friend, tried to persuade Antony to save his impaired fortunes and free himself from his dishonourable shackles, by putting Cleopatra to death, and so making himself free for ever.

In the course of this year (B.C. 36) Cleopatra came in person to inspect her new possessions. Herod, disguising his loathing, conducted her with the utmost splendour to Jerusalem, and thence to Jericho. The abandoned Queen fell in love with his handsome person, and while she lingered at Jericho tried so unmistakably to entrap him—as she had entrapped Cæsar and Antony, and many more—that he secretly consulted his friends whether he should accept her odious advances, or put her to death. Fear of Antony prevented him from becoming either his rival or his deliverer, though, had he followed the latter suggestion, he might have altered the future destinies of the whole Roman Empire. At last, when she saw that her intrigue had failed, she left for Egypt, and he deferentially conducted her as far as the frontier.

He well knew that he must maintain an ever-watchful guard against Zenodorus, against Malchus, against the frantic infatuations of Antony, above all, against the restless criminality of Cleopatra. If all else failed, he determined to reserve for himself at least one corner of his own kingdom, where, if need be, he might fight like a lion at bay. He selected the fortress of Masada on the Dead Sea, of which the almost impregnable strength was already known to him. He stored it with provisions and

arms, made it capable of receiving 10,000 men, and gloomily awaited the development of events.

No very prominent circumstance occurred from this time till the breach between Antony and Octavianus, which led to the battle of Actium in B.C. 31. This period of comparative quiet was apparently the time when the mild and gentle Hillel, certainly on the whole the most attractive figure among all the rabbis, rose to his undisputed pre-eminence.* The Jewish schools rang with the academic and rival Halachoth of the disciples of Hillel. They were mere academic disputes of no real importance to any human soul. Hillel "loosed"—*i.e.* adopted more flexible and lenient interpretations of the Law; Shammai "bound," or interpreted every legal ordinance—not with the large spirit of Him whose favourite quotation was the verse of Hosea: "I will have mercy and not sacrifice"—but in the spirit of that narrow and paltry Pharisaic conception of God, which regarded Him as a sort of enlarged rabbi, who daily repeated the Sh'ma, and scrupulously robed Himself with phylactery and fringe of the proper colour and accurate width. Even from such extravagant assertions of formalism the more bigoted rabbis did not shrink. One rabbi when asked the question which was put also to Christ, "Which is the great Commandment of the Law?" answered, "The Law of fringes!" Another having accidentally torn his fringe in mounting a ladder, remained on the ladder motionless, and would not take even one step upwards or downwards till the tsitsith was mended. One who wore no fringes was a boor (*am ha-arets*) and transgressed five positive commandments.† The law about fringes is as weighty, they said, *as all* other precepts put together, for the word *tsitsith* numerically makes 680, and this with eight threads and five knots makes

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* He is believed to have arranged the Mishnah in six Sedarim, which were afterwards reduced to writing by Rabbi Judah the Holy.

† Berachoth, f. 47, 2; Menachoth, f. 44, 1.

613.* He who wears his fringes duly will have 2800 slaves to wait on him.† To such inconceivable puerilities had Jewish scholasticism reduced the splendour of "the fiery Law." They tithed the stalks of pot-herbs, and counted the threads of tassels, while they were utterly indifferent to the weightier matters of the Law—justice, mercy, truth.

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* Shevuoth, f. 29, 1.
† Shabbath, f. 32 (*see* Zech. viii. 23).

CHAPTER IX.

Troubles at Home and Abroad.

"Nulla fere causa est in quâ non femina litem Moverit."
—Juvenal, *Sat.* vi. 242.

Antony, by his mad riots and blasphemous masquerades with Cleopatra, was disgusting and alarming the whole Roman world; he widened the chasm between himself and Octavianus by his disgraceful neglect of his wife Octavia, the virtuous sister of his colleague in the government of the world. The Romans did not wish, as Horace and Propertius say, to see Alexandria replacing Rome as the capital of the Empire; nor Jupiter Capitolinus dethroned by Osiris; nor the sistrum substituted for the Roman trumpet; nor the *Meretrix regina Canopi* usurping the age-long majesty of Consuls and Dictators. The final breach between the two great Romans was not long in coming, and in B.C. 29 the Senate declared open war against Antony as well as against Cleopatra.*

In this war Herod had of course been compelled to side with his friend and patron Antony; and he prepared an army to join the Duumvir at Athens for the arbitrament of the dreadful struggle. But at this point Cleopatra conferred on Herod an unconscious service. She knew that he was her most pronounced enemy; that his influence was used in

* *See* Hor., *Epod.* ix. 11; *Od.* i. 32, 5-32; Propert., iii. 11, 52; Dion. Cass. i. 5; Plut., *Anton.* 60.

opposition to her wishes; and that, in consequence, Antony refused to give her the kingdom of Judæa, on the possession of which she had set her heart. Added to these causes of dislike was the *spretæ injuria formæ*, since Herod had firmly repudiated her blandishments, and compassed her downfall. She did not choose therefore that the Idumæan King should have any further opportunity of increasing his ascendency over the mind of her lover. She persuaded Antony to order him not to join in the campaign against the Senate, but to conquer the Arabian Emir, Malchus, who steadily refused to pay his arrears of tribute, which, in consequence, Herod himself had to advance to the insatiable Queen.

Herod's campaign against Malchus seemed likely at first to prove disastrous, for he suffered a serious defeat at Cana, owing to the treachery of Athenion, the Greek commander of the Egyptian auxiliaries. After this there occurred one of the most awful earthquakes ever known in Palestine, which engulfed whole villages, and cost the lives of many thousands of men. Harassed by this disaster, Herod would have made peace; Malchus refused, and was subsequently defeated into absolute submission in a battle not far from Jericho.

On 2nd September, B.C. 31, Antony and Octavianus met each other in the great naval battle of Actium, and Cleopatra, by her base and pusillanimous flight, in which the sixty Egyptian war-vessels followed her, put the coping-stone on the edifice of Antony's ruin. Had she been less cowardly, he might have won the victory, and become master of the destinies of the world. From this time his fortunes became more and more hopeless, for he rejected Herod's advice to kill Cleopatra, and raise new armies by means of her forfeited treasures.

Herod now saw in the conduct of his patron every sign of the dementation which is the foreshadowing of doom, and he thought it high time to make peace with the victor,

Octavianus. Quintus Didius, proconsul of Syria, had already changed sides, as well as many of the Asiatic princes. Upon Herod, however, Antony relied with perfect certainty, and sent to him one of Cleopatra's Greeklings, Alexander of Laodicea, to confer with him.* But Alexander was only too glad to have thus escaped from the death-orgies of the doomed and dissolute carousers at Alexandria. He advised Herod to embrace the fortunes of Octavianus, and to desert the self-ruined cause of Antony and the harlot-queen.

He found an early opportunity for public defection. Antony had a powerful army of gladiators who were endeavouring to fight their way to join him in Egypt. At Daphne, near Antioch, they were surrounded by Quintus Didius, but would have cut their way through his forces, when their plan was rendered impossible by their receiving an order from Herod, which forbade their passage through his territories. There was no blow which Antony felt more acutely than this.

Everyone in Judæa was now anxiously watching to see whether Octavianus would forgive Herod or not. The ever-restless Alexandra, still nursing her plans of ambition and revenge, persuaded the poor, aged, deposed High Priest Hyrcanus to further her efforts by secretly writing to King Malchus, and asking him for an escort to conduct him by the Dead Sea into Arabia, that thence he might keep an eye on possible events. The plot transpired, and the miserable old puppet—the sole survivor of the once mighty High Priesthood and Principality of the Asmonæans, the son of the powerful and dreaded Alexander—was compelled, at the age of eighty, to lay his head upon the block. He ended an inglorious life by a death equally inglorious, and though he was the sole inheritor of so many grand memories, his execution scarcely caused the tiniest ripple on the stormy surface of Jewish politics. The axe fell on

* *See* Plut., *Anton.* 60.

the wrong neck. It would have been better for Herod, it would have saved him an Iliad of future woes, if he had ordered the execution of the vile Alexandra instead of that of her harmless father, whom she had inveigled into her plans.

And now Herod started to make his peace with Octavianus at Rhodes. He had scarcely reached middle age—he was not forty: yet hitherto he had emerged, and each time with added grandeur, from three vast political revolutions. After Pharsalia (B.C. 48) he had deserted Pompey for Cæsar; after the assassination of Cæsar (B.C. 44) he had joined the party of Brutus and Cassius; after the battle of Philippi (B.C. 41) he had forsaken the cause of Cæsar's murderers to become for ten years the staunch friend and supporter of Antony; and now already, after the battle of Actium (B.C. 31), he had proclaimed his defection from Antony. The decision which trembled in the balance was whether he would or not be pardoned by the smooth, astute young victor, who seemed likely to become the lord of the world.

Again aware that he had to meet a crisis, he went to Octavianus at Rhodes, leaving his brother Pheroras regent of the kingdom. He sent Mariamne and her mother Alexandra to the Alexandreion for safety, putting them in charge of his financier Joseph, and his Ituræan agent, Sohem; and in spite of his past bitter experience, he could not refrain from again leaving behind him the foolish and dangerous order that, if he did not return, both of the Maccabæan princesses were to be put to death.

At Rhodes the fateful interview took place. Herod laid aside his diadem, but in other respects showed the stately and courageous frankness which had hitherto stood him in good stead. He made no attempt to conceal or palliate the services which he had rendered to Antony. Antony, he said, had been his friend, and he had been entirely faithful to him, so long as his friendship could render him the least service. Had Antony followed his advice the results of the

recent struggle might have been very different. If Antony had taken his counsel to free himself from the shackles of his deplorable infatuation, by putting Cleopatra to death, he would not have ruined himself, and disgraced the Roman name. Herod had only deserted his cause when nothing and no one could save Antony from himself. True to his allegiance, he was now prepared to serve Octavianus with equal faithfulness, and in the matter of the gladiators had already been able to show his powers of usefulness on a conspicuous scale.

Octavianus—like Pompey, like Cæsar, like Antony—could not but be impressed by the vigour and magnificent endowments of the King of the Jews, whom he had already seen and admired at Rome. He bade him resume his diadem; he thanked him for his intervention in the affairs of the gladiators; and he professed his readiness to accept him as his own ally and the friend of the Roman people.

Elated by this new proof that his star was still in the ascendant, Herod hurried back to Palestine to prepare for the reception of Octavianus and his army at Ptolemais. There he welcomed them with regal munificence. He knew how to expend his money to the best purpose; he never valued it with the base idolatry of the miser, but only as a means to higher ends than greedy possession. He supplied the general and his soldiers with ample comforts, and gained so greatly in the estimation of Octavianus as to be allowed to ride beside him at the review of his soldiers. He had with incredible pains secured stores of provisions, of wine, and of water, for the use of the army on their march all the way to Pelusium, and had appointed 150 splendidly dressed and mounted commissariat officers to see that the soldiers suffered no discomfort. Accustomed as Roman soldiers were to frightful hardships and cruel neglect, they were sincerely grateful for the comforts with which Herod surrounded them, and lavished upon him the signs of unbounded appreciation.

Even then Antony might have retrieved, by his skill and

prowess, the fortunes of the day, if he had not been hopelessly betrayed by the woman who had been from the beginning of his career the evil demon of his life. Cleopatra, not yet forty, was deliberately selling to the enemy the man who had sacrificed to her bewitchments the diadems of the Eastern world. She was doing it in the confident hope of being able to entrap yet one more victim by her fatal charms. But when she found the young nephew of Julius Cæsar cold as ice to her advances, and hard as the nether millstone to her requests, she saw that the game of life was over, and committed suicide with the hero whom she had beguiled into infamy and ruin.* With her ended the dynasty of the Ptolemies, which had lasted for 296 years, since the death of Alexander the Great.

Rome heaved a deep sigh of relief to hear that the wicked enchantress was now really dead, and could no more destroy the greatest men of the Republic by her unhallowed witcheries. But no one could have repeated with a greater sense of relief than Herod the triumphant ode of Horace—

> "Nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero
> Pulsanda tellus."†

For the first time for many years he could breathe freely, and sleep undisturbed by the incessant machinations of the woman who had so long desired to dispossess him of his throne.

Again he went to meet the victor, and, after escorting him through Arabia, Palestine, and Syria, as far as Antioch, returned with a considerable extension of wealth and territory. The lovely balsam-groves of Jericho, out of which he had been cheated by the cupidity of Cleopatra, were restored to him. With these he received the cities of Gadara, Hippo, Samaria, Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa, and the fortress, known as Strato's Tower, which he was soon to elevate into

* B.C. 30. Antony was about fifty-three; Cleopatra, thirty-nine.
† *Od.* i. 37.

the magnificent city of Cæsarea, and to make for centuries the real capital of Palestine. In thus endowing and rewarding him, Augustus was not actuated by mere friendship or admiration. The Emperor was not a man of war. His one aim was to restore to the afflicted commonwealth a durable and prosperous peace. But the frontiers of the Roman Empire were least secure on the Euphrates, and on the borders of Arabia. Octavianus knew the worth of a man when he saw him, and he recognised at once that the active and resourceful Herod was more capable of securing the peace of the East than any other Asiatic potentate. He added a private benefaction which would at once repay his obligations, and add to Herod's personal security. He presented to him the 400 Gauls who had formed the escort of Cleopatra. In later years even these were insufficient to protect the king from the gloomy and fanatical detestation of his subjects, and he increased their numbers with Thracians and Cilicians.

Herod was now the richest, and the most powerful, as he was the ablest, of all the kings allied with Rome; and since he had the ear of Augustus, as Octavianus was now called, he might well have seemed to be an object of universal envy. But at this very time his home was plunged in waves of infernal wretchedness, and he was driven to the verge of death and madness by the tragedies of his domestic life.

Mariamne had never returned the passionate and absorbing devotion which he felt for her. During the triumphal progress of his recent absence, she had wormed out of the incautious Sohem, as before out of Herod's uncle Joseph, the fatal secret that the king had left orders for her execution if his mission failed. Hence, when he returned with accumulated successes, so far from welcoming him with rapture, she refused his embrace, received him with a coldness under which gleamed an undying hatred, and upbraided him with the secret or judicial murder of her father, her grandfather, her uncle, and her beloved brother. Further than this, her

imprudent arrogance had made bitter enemies of Cypros and Salome, the mother and sister of Herod. They hated her and her mother Alexandra on every ground, but most of all because the beautiful haughty queen openly poured contempt on them and their plebeian origin. They fomented every cause of dissatisfaction against her, and at last Salome —the *âme damnée* of Herod's family—suborned his butler to go and tell the king that Mariamne had once bribed him to give to Herod a love-philtre, or possibly a poison. Credulously suspicious, and with his ears open to every lie, Herod ordered Mariamne's favourite eunuch to be seized and put to the torture. All that could be wrung from the wretch's agonies was that Mariamne's alienation must be due to something which Sohem had said to her. Once more, then, the secret order had been betrayed, and Herod leapt to the conclusion that nothing but an adulterous intercourse with Mariamne could have induced Sohem to reveal it.* The faithful Ituræan, though perfectly innocent, was ordered to instant execution, and Mariamne was thrown into prison. Herod could not have persuaded himself to sign the order for her death, even after the decision of the tribunal of parasites, to whom he had committed her trial, that she had been guilty of adultery. But Cypros and Salome kept up their diabolical friction of his jealous and despairing rage, and by representing that her reprieve and continued incarceration might cause an insurrection of the people, they induced him to give orders for her execution (B.C. 29).

Then occurred one of the most disgraceful scenes which history records. Had it not been for her mother, Mariamne might have lived in happiness with a husband who, in spite of his crimes against her family, adored her with all his heart, and only desired to be forgiven. It was Alexandra who had ever sowed the dragon seeds of hatred in the court

* This story so closely resembles the previous one of Joseph, that some have suspected a confusion of names, and this story is omitted by Josephus in *B.J.*, i. 22, 4, 5.

of Herod; it was Alexandra who had fomented every crude conspiracy which awoke the king to rage; it was Alexandra who had sent the portrait of Mariamne and Aristobulus to Antony; it was Alexandra who had cherished the dynastic pride and imperious demeanour of her beautiful child, and had continued to be her evil genius until now. The fate of Mariamne might have moved the heart of her bitterest enemy, as in her proud and innocent heroism—deserted by all, betrayed by all, with not one soul near at hand to comfort her or to wipe her tears—she walked undaunted to her place of execution. But if *any* heart should at that moment have yearned over the wronged, lovely, unhappy woman—the last of a long line of princely ancestors—it should have been the heart of her mother. Instead of showing the least touch of compassion, Alexandra was anxious only to secure her own pitiful interests, and avert the tyrant's suspicion from herself. This woman-fiend went out to see her daughter on her path to violent death. Did she strain her last child to her heart? Did she bathe her face in tears, and unburden her heart in supplication? Did she pour execration upon the rabid tyrant who was sending her to death? Far from it! She stood there, and heaped reproaches on the head of the hapless queen, asking her "How she could thus have thrown away the devoted affection of her great husband?" She taunted her with being unworthy of his affection; upbraided her with imaginary delinquencies, and expressed the most violent scorn against her. Mariamne spoke not. The tragedy was too terrible for tears; the anguish too strong for words. In a noble silence she dismissed from her soul the horror and disdain which she could not but feel for such a mother, and walked on, unquailing, to her lonely death.

And no sooner was she dead than the furies of remorse "took their seats upon Herod's midnight pillow." Overcome with anguish, torn by the pangs of regret for her whom he had so intensely loved, haunted by her ghost, he caught the pesti-

lence which was raging among his subjects. Under pretence of desiring to hunt, he retired to Samaria, where his strength was so prostrated and his reason so entirely unhinged for a time, that many expected his death. Alexandra was immediately on the alert again, and conspired to get possession of Fort Baris and Mount Sion, in order to proclaim her two grandsons, Alexander and Aristobulus, sons of the murdered Mariamne, the moment that the breath should have left the king's body. On hearing this, Herod shook off his sickness for very rage, and ordered Alexandra to be executed, a fate which she had richly deserved long before (B.C. 28).

But fresh complications were now stirring him to madness. The amorous Salome, though she was already a grandmother, was tired of her second husband, the Emîr Costobar, as she had previously grown tired of her former husband, her uncle Joseph. Anxious for a new husband, she divorced Costobar, and told Herod that besides incessant plots against him, he had concealed the sons of an obscure person named Babas, who was of Maccabæan origin. When Herod had first taken Jerusalem, he had sought for these youths, and had never been able to find them, or to hear what had become of them. He now sent to the place where Salome asserted that Costobar had concealed them. They were found and executed; so determined was Herod to extirpate the last fibres of the Asmonæan race. Costobar, and all who had abetted him, were also sentenced to death. And so, through rivers of blood, Herod waded to his doom.

CHAPTER X.

A Hated Benefactor.

"I am for peace ; but when I speak they are for war."—Ps. cx. 7.

The reign of Herod presents singular alternations of services rendered to his people, such as might have won the enthusiastic gratitude of any nation for an unequalled benefactor, and at the same time of acts which cruelly wounded their deepest feelings, and filled them with irrepressible disgust, accompanied by a burning desire for vengeance.

This was markedly the case in B.C. 25. In that year began a terrible famine, the result of one of those heart-rending periods of drought which are the curse of Palestine. Hunger swept away thousands of the people. As there was no pasturage, it became necessary to kill the sheep and lambs, and then, besides the pangs of want, the people, especially in the villages, were unable to provide wool for clothing. Under these circumstances Herod displayed the unsparing magnanimity and self-sacrifice which exhibited his character on its noblest side. He was fortunately a friend of Petronius, Governor of Egypt, and he expended vast sums of money to procure stores of food from a country which was rendered perpetually fertile by the yearly overflow of the Nile. He also bought up immense bales of wool, and provided the most suffering of his people and of the neighbouring Syrians with unstinted maintenance. To gain money for this worthy and charitable munificence, he even sold the silver plate of

his own table. Besides all this bread and wool, he is said to have gratuitously distributed seed corn, that the harvests of the next year also might not fail. How many talents of gold he lavished in this noble manner is not recorded, but it was estimated that he had given away 800,000 medimni of corn to his starving subjects. In B.C. 23 there was again an abundant harvest, and Herod employed 50,000 men to reap it.

Yet about the very time that he was thus winning the gratitude of many, and almost beginning to secure their affection, he wounded their tenderest susceptibilities. He did not love, he could never love the Jews, to whom his cosmopolitan diplomacy was utterly repugnant. He openly announced that he cared much less for them than for his heathen subjects, and if, at Jerusalem, he paid a certain ostensible respect to the Jewish religion, in many parts of his dominion he showed something more than complaisance to heathen idolatry by rearing heathen temples. He built one of white marble, which he afterwards dedicated to the worship of Augustus at Paneas, and two superb temples to Augustus and the goddess Roma at Cæsarea. He also became, year after year, a profuse patron of heathen games. At almost every great gymnastic contest his riches supplied a "Herod's prize." One year he helped to revive the languishing Olympic festival, and presided at it in person; and he thought it right to spend huge sums on the quinquennial games in honour of Apollo, which were established to commemorate the victory of Actium. If he had confined such exhibitions of his heathen proclivities to the many pagan or semi-pagan cities of his kingdom, the Jews might have tolerated and partially condoned his conduct. But their horror can better be imagined than described when, in defiance of their most cherished convictions, he built both a theatre and an amphitheatre at Jerusalem itself (B.C. 25). The Jews were totally unskilled in chariot races and all athletic contests. Few of them would enter the lists, and those who did were easily and ignominiously defeated. On the other hand,

Greek adventurers thronged to Jerusalem in hundreds to compete for the unusually valuable prizes by which Herod bribed their attendance. The rabbis and their numerous disciples, scions of a people naturally humane, loathed above all as cruel and demoralising the prize-fights and gladiatorial shows of the Gentile world. They began ominously to quote the passage of the Book of Maccabees (1 Macc. i. 14) which described how the wicked High Priest Jason and his Hellenising party, in the bad days of Antiochus Epiphanes, "built a place of exercise at Jerusalem according to the customs of the heathen."

But if the amphitheatre was bad, the theatre offended them still more deeply. They knew the moral taint which all but universally infected the comedies of the ancients; and the tragedies—the only ones which could be produced—rested on a basis of exclusive heathenism. The clever Nicolas of Damascus might produce his play of "The Chaste Susanna" on the boards of the Jerusalem theatre; but even if such a drama could be regarded as partially excusable, it stood alone. And—horror of horrors!—the building was adorned all round with trophies of armour, which looked to the Jews like the idolatrous images so sternly forbidden by the second of their "Ten Words." When Herod heard this, he invited the chief Sanhedrists and rabbis to come with him to the theatre, and to point out which were the ornaments that seemed to them so specially offensive. There were painted decorations round the theatre, but these being on a flat ground, might perhaps be tolerated; but they pointed with disgust to the numerous trophies of armour. Thereupon, as they sat, Herod ordered his attendants to take the trophies to pieces in their presence. It was done, and lo! when the helmets and shields and coats of mail were taken down, nothing remained but a series of plain wooden pegs all round the building. *Solvuntur risu tabulae!* Herod no doubt smiled a sardonic smile as he showed to the Pharisees the harmless and hideous pegs

which they had taken for dangerous idols; but the laughter of the Pharisees was somewhat grim, nor was their dislike arrested. Ten of them, and among them one man who, though blind, was eager to join in the conspiracy, bound themselves by the ban (*cherem*) to assassinate Herod as he entered the theatre with his bodyguards. The plot was betrayed, and the assassins were seized by the bodyguard as they entered the theatre, unaccompanied by the king. All the ten were executed with cruel tortures. The informer was torn to pieces by the infuriated people; but in this case also the offenders, recognised by spies and informers in the pay of the court, were seized and executed with their families, after they had been stretched upon the rack. Herod's rule, when his authority was resisted, was a rule of iron and of blood.

CHAPTER XI.

The Public Life of Herod.

"Urben excoluit adeo ut jure gloriatus sit se marmoream relinquere quam lateritiam accepisset."—Suetonius, *Aug.* 28.

The public life of Herod was as splendid, and for the most part as prosperous, as his private life was miserable; and while his name was for the most part detested by his immediate subjects, it was honoured in almost every other region of the Roman Empire as that of one of the most splendid, enlightened, and beneficent princes of his age.

It will be some relief to dwell on his many public enterprises before we resume the frightful picture of that hell upon earth—his home.

I. In the first place, he was the only king who, in consequence of the confidence reposed in him by Rome, extended his frontier to the widest limits ever dreamed of by Solomon. He made Judæa a first-rate kingdom, and achieved an acknowledged precedence over all but the very greatest of the Oriental kings.

II. Secondly, he made his frontiers respected by his military promptitude and almost unbroken success, so that his subjects could sow their harvests without the constant dread of having them reaped by Bedouin marauders.

III. Thirdly, he swept the strong bands of semi-political robber chieftains out of the harassed regions of Galilee and Trachonitis, which he restored to unwonted prosperity.

The plain of Gennezareth—in the immediate vicinity of Beth Arbel, and of the vast limestone caverns of Wady Hammâm, which had once swarmed with remorseless brigands—now became the scene of a flourishing commerce. It developed into the manufacturing district of Palestine, and Josephus speaks of it as the miracle of Nature, and the garden of the world. In those days, the glittering waters of the Lake of Galilee, now so utterly deserted, were white with the sails of innumerable fishing-boats and commercial argosies.

IV. Fourthly, he surrounded and protected the whole of Palestine with a cordon of castles and fortified towns. They made it secure from ordinary aggression, and subsequently taxed even the enormous resources of Rome to reduce it to subjection. These are enumerated by Josephus and Strabo. Among them were such cities as Scythopolis, Pella, Philadelphia, and Antipatris; and such almost impregnable castles as Herodium,* Machaerus, Masada, and the Alexandreion.

V. Fifthly, by the wisdom and admirable selection of his sites for building, by the vast numbers of workmen employed, and by the general movement thus given to all forms of public life and amusement, he gave a strong stimulus to mercantile enterprise. "Moreover," says Hausrath, "he had shaken an inexhaustible cornucopia, filled with gifts, over the heathen world, building gymnasia in Tripolis, Damascus, Ptolemais, and Nicopolis; theatres in Damascus and Sidon; an aqueduct in Laodicea; baths in Ascalon; temples in Tyre and Rhodes;† colonnades in Tyre and Antioch. The towns of Byblos and Berytus owed to him their city walls. Athens, Sparta, Nicopolis, Pergamum, and Cos received ostentatious donations or prizes for their games; and had it not been for his permanent regal endowment, the ancient and famous

* On the hill called by the Crusaders Frankenberg.

† He rebuilt the Temple of Apollo in Rhodes, which had been burnt down.

Olympic contests would probably have come to an end. The Jews abroad reaped the benefit of their king's generosity, quite apart from the fact that through his influence with Augustus he enforced a strict observance everywhere of the privileges granted by Cæsar at his request. He made the oppression of his people's kinsmen by the Proconsuls of the Empire a very disagreeable thing to the oppressors.

VI. Sixthly, he built a palace at Jerusalem, which afterwards became the residence of the Roman Procurator, and which must be ever memorable, because it was in the prætorium of this palace that the Lord of Glory was tried and questioned by Pontius Pilate.*

He built this palace, says Josephus, in the upper city, raising the rooms to a very great height, and adorning them with the most costly furniture of gold, and marble seats, and beds. The rooms were so large that they could contain very many companies of men. There were also many apartments of unusual magnitude, which had particular names given them, for one was called "The Cæsareum," and the other "The Agrippeum." This is all he says of it in his *Antiquities*,† but in the *Wars of the Jews* he says that the palace was so splendid as to surpass all his ability to describe it. "For it was so curious as to lack no cost or skill in its construction, but was entirely walled about to the height of thirty cubits, with towers at equal distances, and large bedchambers which would contain beds for a hundred guests apiece. The variety of the marbles in

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* It is interesting to know that the pigeons (πελειάδες) kept by Herod in dovecotes about his palace seem to have been the first which were kept in captivity. Hence they were called "Herodian pigeons;" and it is a highly curious fact that the only two places in which the name of the builder of the Temple occurs in the Mishna is in connection with these pigeons—namely, in Shabbath (xxiv. 3), where we are told that even on the Sabbath water may be put for geese, hens, and Herod's pigeons; and in Chullin (xii. 1), where the law about birds' nests (Deut. xxii. 6, 7) is said not to apply to Herodian pigeons (Schürer, i. 1, 44; Winer, Richm, Schenkel, *s.v. Taube*).

† *Antt.* xv. 9, 3 (Whiston).

these guest-chambers is not to be expressed, for the rare kinds were amassed in large quantities. The roofs also were marvellous, both for the length of the beams and the splendour of their adornments. The number of the rooms was very great, and the variety of figures about them was prodigious. Their furniture was complete, and the vessels in them were mainly of silver and gold. There were also many porticoes, one beyond another round about, and in each of these were curious pillars; yet all the open courts were everywhere green. There were, moreover, groves of trees, and long walks through them, with deep canals and cisterns, which in several parts were filled with statues of bronze, through which the water ran out.

"There were, further, many dovecotes of tame pigeons about the canals; but indeed it is not possible to give a complete description of these palaces. The very remembrance of them is a torment, as putting one in mind what vastly rich buildings were burnt down in the conflagration kindled by the Zealots. For the buildings were not burnt down by the Romans, but by the conspirators in the beginning of their rebellion. The conflagration began at the Tower of Antonia, caught the palace, and consumed the upper parts of the three towers themselves." *

VII. Seventhly, he rendered a very real service to Palestine by his magnificent rebuilding of Strato's Tower, which he renamed Cæsarea. Between Dor and Joppa there was no other harbour worth speaking of, and, owing to the neglect caused by the Civil Wars, the harbour of Strato's Tower had become silted up with sand, to the great detriment of the important trade between Syria and Alexandria. Herod first built a huge breakwater 200 feet broad to protect the entrance, and then, after twelve years of labour at this construction, his workmen were able to clear the choked harbour. He next constructed a narrower dam, with signal

* *B. J.*, v. 4, 4 (Whiston).

towers opposite to it, and adorned the port with quays, columns, bazaars, basilicas, sailors' homes, and great buildings of white marble conspicuous from afar. Among these were theatres and amphitheatres, and a temple, which contained great statues of Augustus with the attributes of the Olympian Zeus, and of the goddess Roma as the Argive Juno. Best of all, the sanitation, which is so often villainously bad in Eastern towns, was carefully planned, and the drains were kept pure by being constantly flushed with the ebb and flow of the tide.

VIII. Eighthly, he rebuilt the Temple; but of this service I must treat separately later on.

IX. Ninthly, in addition to the munificent benefactions which he bestowed on his starving people during the famine, he had rendered some of the most valuable political services through his influence with the Romans, and the very high opinion which they had of his abilities and his loyalty. He obtained many edicts in their favour, and amid the intense unbending detestation of the Jews of Palestine, he was profoundly and gratefully honoured by the Jews of the Dispersion. When, in the year 14, he visited Agrippa at Sinope, he obtained from his powerful friend a renewal of the very generous edicts which Julius Cæsar had passed in their favour; edicts which materially improved their position, both in the Greek islands and in great Asiatic cities like Ephesus, Sardis, Halicarnassus, and Laodicea. Indeed, his personal popularity, and the lavish disbursement of his wealth, won him a popularity among the Greeks which tended to mollify the general mixture of hatred and contempt with which they looked upon his whole nation. He obtained for the Jews safety for their temple contributions, exemption from military service, and many immunities which secured the due performance of their religious rites. In these benefits the Palestinian Jews shared, and, in addition to them, he again granted large remission of taxes and tribute, which he was perfectly able to exact. Yet they remained so stubbornly

unregardful of these magnificent boons, and brooded so fiercely on his infractions of their Law, that latterly he did not even care to attempt the impossible task of trying to win their approval. In his own country, benefactor as he was, he lived and moved amid a chaos of hatreds.

CHAPTER XII.

Public and Private Events.

But, it may be asked, was not Herod supported by a large and influential party—those who in the Gospels are called Herodians? There certainly was such a party, as we learn from the Gospels (Matt. xxii. 15; Mark iii. 6; xii. 13), and there is probably an allusion to them also in Mark viii. 15, where our Lord connects "the leaven of Herod" with "the leaven of the Pharisees." There can be little doubt that they were a political combination of those laxer Jews who saw that the sole possible preservation of their country from ruin and fanatical excitement lay in the government of the Herods, supported by "the invincible Romans." They could sometimes join in the plans even of the strict Pharisees, because both parties may have equally felt that the tyranny of semi-Jewish Idumæans was, after all, preferable to an unmitigated heathen dominance. That Herod conferred upon them immense benefits, both by his influence and his lavishness, could not be denied. Even Hillel, whom Herod greatly honoured, is said to have shared in this opinion, and therefore to have recommended loyalty to the Herodian rule as the smaller of two evils. And the Sadducees were even more strongly convinced of this view, since their whole position depended much more on the support of the Herods than on the favour of the people. We are told by Epiphanius that *some* of the Herodians went so far as to try to palm off one or other of the Herods as the Promised Messiah; and

this was the sentiment which Herod himself desired most of all to encourage when he offered to rebuild the Temple.* But the Herodians were scornfully regarded as "Proselytes of the royal table."†

In B.C. 24 events happened in Egypt and Arabia which deepened the conviction of Augustus that in Herod he possessed an indispensable ally. He had commanded Ælius Gallus, the Procurator of Egypt, to subdue as much as possible of Arabia, and to promote an invaluable commerce by discovering the shortest and best road between Egypt and Arabia Felix. In carrying out this design, Gallus reposed his confidence in Syllæus, the brother and Vizier of Obodas, King of the Nabatæans, who of all men was most interested in thwarting a policy which would have hindered the depredations of his countrymen. With the consummate cunning of an Oriental, Syllæus, while contriving to lull suspicion to sleep, involved the Roman army in utter ruin. He led them by impossible and circuitous routes, in which they suffered agonies from heat and thirst; he directed their fleets to places where they could not sail because of the rocky and shallow nature of the coast, or where they were shipwrecked by the violent rush and recession of the tide. He took no pains to secure them adequate supplies, and he complacently watched them perishing of cholera and typhus. Only seven men were killed in actual fight during three skirmishes with the inhabitants of the wretched Arab villages, but thousands succumbed to the trials of hunger, disease, and thirst. When eighteen miserable months had thus been spent in the destruction of the majority of the contingent, Herod sent a detachment of 500 cavalry soldiers, who conducted the remnant back to Alexandria in ten weeks. After this proof

* Philastrius, Epiphanius, and Tertullian are wrong in representing the Herodians in general as a Jewish sect who accepted Herod's Messiahship. They are not mentioned in Philo and Josephus. They were a political party as rightly represented by Just. Martyr (*Dial. c. Tryph.* p. 272), Origen, and Theophylact, or Matt. xvii.

† Kiddushin, 4, 8.

of Herod's allegiance and good sense, Augustus determined always to consult him in Eastern affairs.

In B.C. 23 Herod took a new queen into his harem in the place of the slain Mariamne. Her name, too, was Mariamne, and she also was a woman of pre-eminent beauty. She was a daughter of a priest, Simon, son of Boethos, and to give her a little more dignity he deposed the existing High Priest Jesus ben Phabi, and gave the vacant office to his new father-in-law. The arbitrary manner in which the Herods dealt with the High Priesthood at their own caprice proved to be the effectual degradation of that great office. It no longer commanded reverence in the eyes of the people when they saw it usurped by the alien nominees of a godless court.

The marriage of Herod with this second Mariamne produced many evil consequences. From the time of the elevation of Simon, this family—the Boethusim—began to exercise a great and sinister influence on the religious affairs of the nation, and to incur the undying hatred of the people and the Pharisees for their cruel and greedy exactions. The Talmud accounts for the short period during which most of them held office by a reference to Prov. x. 27—"The fear of the Lord prolongeth days, but the years of the wicked shall be shortened." * To the Talmudists these pontifical families were odious, and there is a comprehensive and energetic denunciation of them in the tract Pesachim—"Woe to the Boethusim; woe to their spears! Woe to the family of Annas! Woe to their serpent hissings! Woe to the family of Kanthera; woe to their pens! Woe to the family of Ishmael ben Phabi! Woe to their fists! They are High Priests; their sons are treasurers; their grandsons captains of the Temple, and their servants smite the people with their rods."† Again: "The Temple threshold raised four cries;

* Yoma, f. 9, 1.

† Pesachim, f. 57, 1; Tosefta Menachoth, *ad fin.;* Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 118; Derenbourg, p. 233.

first:—Depart hence, ye descendants of Eli; you soil the Temple of the Eternal. Depart hence, Issachar of Kephar Barkai, who carest only for thyself, and profanest the sacred victims, for he put on silken gloves in sacrificing.* Enlarge yourselves, ye gates; let Ishmael ben Phabi enter, the pupil of Phinehas. Enlarge yourselves, ye gates; let Johanan ben Nebedai enter, the pupil of gluttons, to gorge himself on the victims!" In Kiddushin, f. 70, 2, the genealogy of every "imprudent priest" is said to be derived from 400 servants of "Pashur, the son of Immer the priest" (Josephus, xx. 1), who all rose to the Priesthood.†

To minimise domestic disputes as far as possible, Herod, as he had previously sent away Antipater, the son of his first wife Doris, now sent away to Rome the two sons of the Asmonæan Mariamne. Their names were Alexander and Aristobulus, and Augustus interested himself in their welfare. The two boys, of whom the elder was about thirteen years old, were entrusted to the charge of one of the noblest and worthiest of the Roman patricians, the learned and poetic Asinius Pollio, who was himself a tragic poet, and moved amid the most brilliant literary and political society of Rome. He was the Pollio to whom Virgil addressed the glorious eclogue in which he anticipated that his infant son might become the promised Messiah of a new and golden age. Probably no better home could have been found for the young princes, but during the five years of boyhood and early youth which they spent at Rome, it was impossible that they could escape the deeply seated corruptions of the imperial capital. They may have been carefully watched, but alas!

> "In the morn and liquid dew of youth
> Contagious blastments are most imminent."

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* Kerithoth, f. 28, 2.

† *See* for this and other Talmudic passages, Hershon, *Talm. Miscell.* p. 244.

It became known, when they returned as young men to their father's palace, that the young princes had not remained uncontaminated by the worst of heathen vices—vices which the Jewish law punished with death. Of this, however, Herod thought but lightly. They might easily have contracted the same vices at home, where Herod himself set an evil and unblushing example.

Besides this kindness to Alexander and Aristobulus, whom he publicly treated as the heirs to their father's throne, Augustus presented Herod with the old territory of Lysanias. It was now under Zenodorus, who had again filled it with robbers, in whose profits he shared. Herod, skilled in suppressing robbers, soon reduced the district to peace and order by the vigorous energy of his military organisation.

The year 15 was signalised by the visit to Jerusalem of Agrippa, whom Augustus had compelled to marry his dissolute daughter Julia, and whom he appointed Commissioner for all the affairs of the East. Herod met the good and all-powerful minister, and conducted him throughout his domains. However hateful Herod might be to his fanatical people, Agrippa gave him the meed of unstinted eulogy and admiration. He was lost in astonishment at the splendours of Cæsarea; he admired the impregnable strength of the royal fortresses; and when the king conducted him to Jerusalem, and showed him the glories of the Temple and the stateliness of its services, surrounded with all the awfulness of immemorial sanctity, he was most deeply impressed. Philo, in his embassy to Caligula, has preserved a record of this visit. The reverent and simple nature of Agrippa delighted the Jews. He did not disdainfully ridicule their worship as an abject superstition, as Antiochus had done; nor did he invade the Holy of Holies like Bagoses, Heliodorus, and Pompey; nor did he plunder it like Gabinius and Crassus. He respected the feelings of the nation, and, since heathens were permitted to

make offerings, he sent a hecatomb of sacrifices to be offered for his own welfare. So charmed were the Jews by his affability, that they strewed his road with flowers and palm-branches, and cheered his departing vessel with cries of "Hosanna!" When Herod returned his visit the next year at Sinope, Agrippa loaded both the king and his people with generous favours.

CHAPTER XIII.

Herod's Domestic Misery.

"Fratrum, conjugum, parentum neces."—Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 8.

Yet all this public magnificence and success could have gone but a little way in lightening the heavy heart of Herod from the double burden of incessant collisions with the hatred of his own people, and of those intolerable embroilments which made his home like a den of fiends.

About the end of B.C. 19 Herod had summoned back from Rome his two sons, Alexander and Aristobulus, now aged eighteen and seventeen. Apart from the taint of a dissoluteness which was then all but universal, they were sons of whom any father might have felt proud. They were in the flower of youth, and with the vigorous personality of the king their father, they had inherited also the dazzling beauty of their Asmonæan mother. To the supple graces of the East they had added the refined culture and manly independence of the West. Their bearing from the first was that of Romans and princes. Brought up in the society of the haughty lords of the world, they were little inclined to the Oriental genuflexions and prostrations or the χαμαιπετὲς βόαμα of Eastern servility. They spoke their minds freely like men—too freely for the cringing hypocrisy of seraglios and sultanates. They did not even scruple to speak with open anger of the execution of their mother, and to threaten their future vengeance

against those to whose deadly machinations that crime had been due. They were so imprudent as to treat Pheroras and Cypros and Salome, the brother, mother, and sister of Herod, as plebeians almost beneath their disdain.

To prevent mischief as far as possible, Herod speedily sought wives for the two youths. The elder, Alexander, who was intended to be the main inheritor of his dominions, he married to Glaphyra, daughter of Archelaus, King of Cappadocia; to the younger, Aristobulus, he gave in marriage a much worthier, if less aristocratic wife—his first cousin Berenice, daughter of Salome. But now the state of affairs became infinitely worse. Glaphyra, though she insolently boasted her descent from Hercules, was in reality only the daughter of one of the courtesans consecrated to the service of the temple at Comana, and she had inherited all the levity of her mother. The feelings of Salome may be better imagined than described when she was informed that Glaphyra spoke of her and all her relatives with undisguised contempt,* and said that her husband, when he became king, meant to reduce the whole Idumæan family to the obscurity out of which they had only emerged by alliance with the Asmonæan princes. Her husband, she said, would make the Herodian princes clerks, and the princesses wool-carders. Pheroras, whom Herod had appointed tetrarch of Perœa, shared the fury of Salome against the two princes. He had his own grievance against Herod already. Herod had wished him to marry one of his nieces—such affinities were very common in this Idumæan court—and had offered him two of them in succession. The plan had been defeated by the infatuation of Pheroras for one of his own slave-girls, whom he had married and would not repudiate. This girl was a devotee of Pharisaism, and Herod discovered with bitter displeasure that it was she who paid the fines of the 6000

* Josephus, *B.J.*, 1, 24, 3.

Pharisees who, headed by Shemaiah and Abtalion, had refused to take to him a vow of allegiance. Pheroras was ordered to retire to his tetrarchy; but Salome remained behind, and her one object was to poison the ulcerated mind of her brother Herod with hatred and suspicion of his sons. She told him that King Archelaus, the father of Glaphyra, had promised Alexander to bring Herod to trial for the murder of Mariamne. She pointed to the popularity of the princes with the people as a proof that they, because of their Asmonæan descent, were regarded as possessing a right to the throne. She taught Herod to regard his own sons as his personal rivals. Doubtless she called attention to the veiled meaning of the dissensions with which the schools of Hillel and Shammai were ringing — such as "whether water might not be pure though it came through a tainted pipe?" and "whether the sons of a daughter might not have as much right to a throne as the daughter of a son?" And while thus poisoning the mind of the king against his sons, Salome and Pheroras sank to the yet more incredible vileness of trying by the grossest calumnies to inflame the mind of the eldest son against his father by insinuating that the king had been guiltily smitten by the charms of his daughter-in-law Glaphyra.

Thinking to humble the dangerous audacity of Mariamne's sons, Herod now took a step which led to the ultimate *dénouement* of the whole frightful tragedy. To remind the princes that they had an elder brother, he took back his divorced first wife, Doris, and summoned to his court his son by her, whose name was Antipater. Up to this time Antipater had been bred up in obscurity, as one who was only destined to hold a private rank. The young man came, and he soon showed himself to be even worse than Salome— "a mystery of iniquity"—a demon incarnate of villainy and guile.

None but an Oriental of the worst nature, exacerbated by past wrongs, and with his heart swollen to bursting with

venomous hate and inordinate ambition, could possibly have played with such infernal skill the part which Antipater now assumed. He professed to side entirely with the young princes. He insinuated himself into their friendship; he publicly took their part; he acquired the entire confidence and even affection of the elder, Alexander. No one could ever quote a single syllable of his in depreciation of his brothers, but all the while he had in his pay a swarm of venomous spies and informers who reported to him and to Herod every imprudent word or hasty act of the doomed Asmonæans. And there was another source of disquietude. Berenice, the wife of Aristobulus, and Glaphyra, the wife of Alexander, were on terms of bitterest enmity. Berenice thought that Aristobulus was too careless and indifferent in allowing her to be exposed to the gibes and insults of the conceited and heady Cappadocian princess, and she used to fly to her mother Salome, and with floods of tears reveal the most secret remarks which her husband had made to her. Thus Antipater grew in credit, while Herod's affection for the sons of Mariamne was gradually changed into suspicious bitterness.

Meanwhile Antipater posed as a sweet-minded and noble-hearted "repairer of the breach and restorer of paths to dwell in;" for, as Josephus says, he had unique skill in pretending to be the defender of his brothers, while in reality he was the instigator and fomenter of all the worst things which were said of them.

In B.C. 13 Herod sent Antipater to Rome in the care of Agrippa, that he might enjoy the same advantages of Roman education which his brothers had received. This made no difference in the tangled meshwork of intrigues. By his letters and subtle insinuations, seconding the incessant calumnies of Salome, he brought the weary king to such a state of frenzy as at last induced him to sail to Rome with his two sons, with the intention of procuring their punishment at the hands of Augustus. Then first did the hapless

youths look down into the abyss of hatred and suspicion in which their father's love for them had been engulfed. Their tears and their innocence of everything but rashness and pride moved the heart of Augustus, who, with his sovereign good sense, disentangled them from the lies which had been so subtly wound around them, and reconciled them to their father. Herod took back with him the three princes, and declared that he would divide his dominions between them, while Antipater broke into exuberant professions of hypocritic joy.

But no sooner were they back in the dreadful palace of Jerusalem than the cold and deathful waters began again to mount to the lips of the sons of Mariamne. At last Antipater secretly suggested to his father that their confidential servants should be put to the torture in order to extort their secrets. Stretched on the rack, the wretched slaves were of course ready to confess anything which might terminate their agonies, and, as directed, they accused Alexander of plots against Herod's life and throne.

Alexander was thrown into prison, and—filled with unspeakable disgust—determined to cut the Gordian knot of his miseries by at least involving his enemies with himself in utter ruin. He wrote a letter to the king, and declared that he had been guilty, but that Salome and Pheroras, his accusers, were so to an equal degree. He declared that Salome, who, though now a grandmother, was of a notoriously amorous temperament, had endeavoured to seduce his affections. He described the whole court of the king, and even his most professed friends as a seething hotbed of conspirators, always excepting his dear and generous friend and brother, Antipater, of whom he could not speak too highly for his loyalty and love.

Fresh torrents of blood might now have been shed, had not King Archelaus, the father of Glaphyra, appeared on the scene. This astute Greekling simply played on the mind of Herod as on an instrument. Professing to be furious with

indignation against Alexander, he threatened the public disgrace of withdrawing his daughter Glaphyra from these miseries, and he inveighed so bitterly against Alexander as a heartless parricide, that he caused a revulsion of feeling—on which he had calculated—in the father's mind. Herod, hearing such a torrent of vituperation, began to plead for his son with tears!

And now a new trouble arose. Syllæus was anxious to get rid of his master, Obodas II., King of the Nabathæans, and to be made king in his stead. To further these designs he came to Jerusalem and made love to Salome, who was old enough to be his mother, but was now most anxious to obtain a third husband. Herod defeated the plot by insisting that the Nabathæan should first be admitted into Judaism by the rite of circumcision. Syllæus went back, burning for vengeance. He gave shelter to the brigands of Trachonitis, refused to pay arrears of debt and tribute, and went to Rome to accuse Herod. Obtaining leave from the proconsul, Saturninus, to enforce his demands, Herod advanced against the Arabians, and took the fortress of Raipta, a proceeding which enabled Syllæus to gain credence for the charge that Herod had wantonly broken the peace of the East, seized large treasures, and slain 2500 men. These were points about which Augustus was intensely sensitive: he believed the lies of Syllæus, reprimanded Herod, and refused to receive the embassy sent in his exculpation. From this painful difficulty Herod was delivered by the skill of Nicolas of Damascus, who managed to get the ear of Augustus, and to tell him how grossly he had been abused by the lies of Syllæus. Regretting his hasty error, Augustus ordered Syllæus to be executed, and seriously considered whether he would not bestow the crown of Arabia upon Herod instead of on the young Hareth VI., the son of Obodas II. who, during this juncture of affairs, had died. It was at this very crisis that there came from Herod another letter, asking leave to put his sons Alexander and Aristobulus to death.

That letter cost Herod nothing less than a great kingdom. Augustus confirmed Hareth VI. upon the throne, with the remark that he could entrust no more kingdoms to a man who could not control his own house and court without shedding the blood of his own sons. In truth there were times when the palace of Herod so rang with the shrieks of tortured slaves, and hissed with the serpent-hisses of envenomed intrigue, that the miserable king was hardly master of himself. He had been reconciled to his sons by Augustus and by Archelaus, but he could trust no one, not even Salome and Pheroras. And at this point the bad adventurer Eurycles, the Lacedæmonian, visited the court. He learned all its complications from the frivolous Glaphyra, and used his knowledge of these secrets to get money, by contriving the delation of a plot against the king's life, supported by forged letters. Glaphyra was confronted with her husband Alexander. Scenes of the utmost painfulness occurred. Herod again wrote to Augustus for leave to bring his sons to trial. It was this letter which cost Herod the kingdom of Arabia. Augustus gave a cold permission to have the case tried at Berytus, where, in a paroxysm of dementation, Herod most needlessly appeared in person before the Pro-consul Saturninus as the frantic accuser of his sons. A reluctant verdict was given against them, though Saturninus and his three sons gave their votes on the other side. The two hapless youths were taken to Samaria in B.C. 8, and there were strangled amid the scenes in which Herod had married their mother nearly thirty years before. No one dared to raise a voice in their favour except an old soldier named Teron, with no other result than that of precipitating his own execution, and that of 300 others. Thenceforth the ghosts of the two murdered princes haunted the palace of Herod, and became its inquisitors and spies.*

Augustus on hearing it, made the celebrated *bon mot* that

* Josephus, *B. J.*, i. 30, 7.

he should greatly prefer to be Herod's pig (ὗς) than his son (υἱς).* The pig of a Jewish king was safe; his sons seemed to live with the rope round their necks.†

Both the young princes left sons. Agrippa I., the son of Aristobulus and Berenice, was born about B.C. 14.

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* Macrob., *Saturn.* ii. 4. Macrobius in some way confuses the event with the massacre of the children at Bethlehem ("inter pueros, quos in Syria Herodes Rex Judæorum, intra bimatum jussit interfici").

† Macrob., *loc. cit.*, "Melius est Herodis *porcum* esse, quam filium."

CHAPTER XIV.

Herod and the Temple.

"Trust ye not in lying words, saying, The Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord are these."—Jeremiah vii. 4.

'Illic immensae opulentiae templum; ad fores tantum Judæo aditus; limine, praeter sacerdotes, arcebantur."—Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 8.

"No workman steel, no ponderous axes rung,
Like some tall palm the noiseless fabric sprung."
—Heber, *Palestine.*

It is a relief to turn once more from the domestic concerns of Herod, in which we sup full of horrors, to his public undertakings; although they also were incessantly thrown into similar maelstroms by his headstrong and inconsiderate self-will.

Several motives weighed powerfully with Herod in favour of his magnificent scheme for rebuilding the Temple of Zerubbabel.

1. He was passionate for glory, and all the other glories of his life grew pale before that of having accomplished this immortal work.

2. He had quite outgrown all Idumæan narrowness, and Judaic exclusiveness. He had become, to all intents and purposes, a Hellenist, the builder of heathen temples, the

patron of Greek and Roman civilisation, a man of taste and culture, the Perpetual Agonothetes of the Olympic Games. He had erected fortresses like Herodium and Machaerus; cities like Sebaste and Cæsarea. He desired to crown, by one unparalleled effort, the architectural glory of his reign.

3. He thought also that possibly a boon so sumptuous would at last overwhelm under the sense of such a benefaction the sullen implacability of his subjects. He had committed many crimes against them. He had shocked their prejudices; he had massacred their rabbis; he had suppressed their Sanhedrin; he had profaned their city with his games and theatres. It seemed as if he could never confer a benefit upon them without counteracting its effects by some fresh source of exasperation. Thus at the moment when he had put them in a favourable mood by generously remitting 33 per cent. of their taxes, he enraged them by passing a law that a convicted thief should be sold as a slave! "How monstrous!" exclaimed the rabbis (and even Hillel sided with them);—"if he is sold as a slave he will go into polluted heathen lands, of which the very soil and the very glass vessels are unclean, and so he will be eternally damned for a single theft!" The small hypothetical violation of the Levitical minutiæ of their oral Law more than counterbalanced the effect of a princely act of munificence!

It was, however, no less a person than Rabbi Baba ben Butah—whom, when he put the other Sanhedrists to death, he had blinded in order to keep him as his councillor—who, according to the Talmud, suggested to Herod the rebuilding of the Temple as an atonement for his many crimes.* How could Baba possibly have given such advice, asked the astonished Talmudists of later days? He had seen a crack in the old Temple walls, said some; and knew that without

* Baba Bathra, 36; Midrash Rabba, iv. 14; Hamburger, ii. 391. In the Sibylline Prophecies (iii. 290; v. 414) it is mentioned as his greatest achievement.

restoration the Temple of Zerubbabel, now 500 years old, would speedily perish.

4. Herod had one more incentive. It was the secret growth of excited Messianic expectations among the people, and the hope that he could avail himself of these, and persuade them that *he* was the promised Messiah of the Jews! We have already observed that some at least of the Herodian party were willing to accept this strange Messiah! They assiduously pointed to the prophecy of Haggai:* "Who is left among you that saw this house in her former glory? And how do ye see it now? Yet fear not. Yet once it is a little while, and I will fill this house with glory, saith the Lord. The latter glory of this house shall be greater than the former, and in this place will I give peace, saith the Lord." Perhaps, too, they may have referred Herod to the much more recent prophecy of "Enoch," who had spoken of a time when "a house would be built to the praise of the Great King for ever and ever." Was not Herod a new Solomon? Was there any king but he who could face the colossal expense of such a reconstruction? And did not the old Temple, built by a handful of poor returning exiles, and far inferior in size to the Temple of Solomon, look very mean, and dwindle into something like discreditable insignificance when it offered so marked a contrast to such magnificent buildings as even the old Asmonæan residence? Was it not completely overshadowed by the towering fortress to which Herod had now given the name of Antonia, and the truly sumptuous palace of white marble and Grecian Doric architecture which he had built for himself, with its flowering trees, dove-haunted gardens, and its two great wings, the Cæsareum and the Agrippeum?

When Herod brought his astounding proposition before a great assembly of people in the Temple, they raised

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* Haggai ii. 3-9. The Book of Enoch also (xci. 13, *ed.* Dillmann) had spoken of a New Temple.

endless difficulties. "Where was the necessary wealth to come from?" Herod pointed in reply to his apparently inexhaustible resources. "But would it not be sacrilege to pull down that venerated structure?" Herod pointed out that it was already crumbling to swift decay. "But what guarantee was there that, if they allowed it to be destroyed, he would ever really build another?" He pledged himself that not a beam or stone of it should be removed until everything was ready for the construction of its more magnificent successor. "But the Jews were not skilled in carpentry or architecture, and it would be absolute sacrilege to let Gentile feet enter the Court of the Priests, and Gentile hands busy themselves with the stones and timber of the Holy of Holies." Even on this point Herod met them. Though Gentiles might labour at the substructions, and at the Court of the Gentiles, none but priestly hands should touch the sacred building itself. A thousand priests, and ten thousand Jewish artisans should be thoroughly trained in all the work of architecture, and none but they should approach the Holiest. All else could be made ready for them. Overborne by such reasoning and such concessions, the people accepted the kingly offer. The priests and workmen were trained in hundreds of workshops, and by the time that the substructions and outer courts were ready, and all the materials of hewn stone and carved timber had been prepared, the priests were provided with priestly robes, and, after eight years of costliest toil, the old sanctuary was taken down with infinite reverence. A year and a half was occupied by the architectonic priests in noiselessly rearing the new structure in its place. So completely did the king respect the scruples of the Pharisees that—though he had been freely permitted to visit the works until the Court of the Gentiles was completed, and profoundly as he was interested in a task for which he had emptied his treasury—he never once set foot within the forbidden precincts. He

is accused, however, of furthering his own ends by getting possession of and destroying the genealogies of the high-priestly families,* and he is also charged with an attempt to rob the tomb of David of secret treasures.

The actual building was sufficiently completed for all purposes of worship in B.C. 14. The rearing of the sanctuary itself only occupied eighteen months; the main courts and porticoes occupied eight years. Herod fixed the dedication on the anniversary of his accession, hoping that both events would be observed as a common feast, and he offered on the great altar a triple hecatomb of oxen. The new Temple was a structure of such memorable beauty as to extort even from the rabbis the confession that he who had not seen it did not know what beauty was; † and as though to justify their admiration for it by a celestial sanction, they declared that during its building, in order to prevent delay, rain had only fallen in the night-time, and fine weather had returned at the dawn of day.‡

The Mishna, differing from Josephus, says that the great walls which encircled the Temple hill (the *Har-ha-Beit*) had five gates, two on the South, and one on the North, East, and West. The principal gate faced the East, and was called Shushan, because it is said to have had originally engraved upon it a picture of the Persian capital. The porticoes, of which some were double, were supported with columns, and paved with many-coloured marbles, but roofed with wood, which accounts for the various conflagrations of

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* Jost, *Gesch.* p. 323; Hamburger, *s.v. Genealogie*, ii. 294.

† Baba Bathra, 4, 1. According to Middoth, ch. 2, "The mount of the Temple was 500 yards square" (Hershon, *Talm. Miscell.*, p. 250).

‡ Taanith, 23, 1. We have in Josephus two descriptions of the Temple: in the *Antiquities* (xv. 11, 3 pp.), and in *The Jewish War* (v. 5). They are far from clear in details. There is yet another description in the Mishna (in the tract Middoth). It has been described in detail by Lightfoot (*Descriptio Templi*, Opp. i. 549 pp.); De Wette (*Archäol.*, p. 238); Munk (*Palestine*, pp. 551-555). The Temple was not regarded as finished till the days of Herod Agrippa II., about A.D. 50.

which we read. In the Royal Portico were four rows of Corinthian columns, 162 in number, 27 feet high, and so thick that three men could only encircle them with extended arms. The Court of the Gentiles was a sort of open market, and was separated from the other courts by the partition called *Soreg* (trellis). On the dwarf pilasters of this "wall of partition," were inscriptions in Greek and Latin, forbidding any Gentile to proceed further on pain of death.* Beyond this was the Chêl, with nine gates, inlaid with plates of gold and silver, approached by five marble steps. Within this was the Court of the Women (*Azarath Nashîm*); on the south of which was a small court (*Lishcath*). In this court were the thirteen *Shopharoth*, or "Trumpet-boxes," for voluntary contributions (Luke xxii. 1-4), which some (not very probably) suppose to be referred to in our Lord's remark about the ostentatious Pharisees who, in their almsgiving, "sound a trumpet" before them. At the corners of the court were chambers for the storage of the Levitic musical instruments, and others for the use of Nazarites and purified lepers.

Beyond this court was the Gate of Nicanor. It was of Corinthian brass, approached by fifteen semicircular steps, which gave their name to the "Psalms of Degrees."† It opened upon the Great Court, which had a number of apartments on the north and south. Among the latter was the "Hall of Squares" (*Lishcath Ha-Gazzith*) where at this time the Sanhedrin met. On the east of this court of the Israelites was a balustrade, on which the priests stood when they blessed the people. Beyond this was the Court of the Priests (*Azarath Cohanîm*). On either side of the Gate of Nicanor were the vestries for priestly robes, and in this court was the *Beth ha-Moked*, or "House of Stores." It

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* *See* Acts xxi. 31.

† *The Sire Ham-Maaloth, cantica graduum.* The Levites are supposed to have chanted Psalms cxx.-cxxiv. as they ascended these steps.

contained other store chambers, among which was the *Golah*, where was kept the water-apparatus for filling and emptying the Brazen Sea. Beyond this another flight of fifteen or twenty steps conducted to the open gate of the vestibule. In the thickness of the wall were two closets in which were kept the sacrificial knives. Another gate, richly gilded, and covered with splendid Babylonian tapestry of purple, woven with golden flowers, opened on the Holy Place or *Hechal*. Over the gate was a superb golden vine, which excited boundless admiration, and was the symbol of Israel (Ps. lxxx. 8). It is said that each golden cluster was as high as a man.* Beyond the splendid inner curtain—the veil which was "rent in twain" at the Crucifixion — was the Holy of Holies. Above the shrines was a sort of unoccupied Upper Chamber (*Alîjah*). The roof was surrounded with sharp gilded pinnacles, to prevent the birds from lighting on them.

The contents of the courts and sanctuaries were regulated by the Law of Moses. In the Court of the Priests was the brazen sea for ablutions; and in the centre the vast altar for holocausts, built of unpolished stones. On its north side were marble tables for the flesh of the offerings. In the Holy Place were the table of shewbread, the altar of incense, and the seven-branched candlestick—all of solid gold. The Holy of Holies was empty. Where the ark had stood was a stone on which the High Priest deposited his censer on the Day of Atonement. It was called the *Eben Shettîjah*, or "foundation stone."†

Nothing could exceed the pride which the Jews took in their Temple. The rabbis wax enthusiastic as they speak of it with extravagant exaggeration.‡

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* For further details, *see* Edersheim, *The Temple and its Services*, ch. ii.

† Yoma, v. 2. This stone was regarded as "the navel of the earth" (*see* Ezek. v. 5 ; Hershon, *Talm. Miscell.* p. 300). The Greeks had the same fable about the *Omphalos* at Delphi.

‡ *See* Hershon, *loc. cit.*, p. 300.

On the north-west of the Temple was the square castle of Antonia, with its towers, part of which was used as a palace. It overlooked the Temple, and communicated with it by the vaulted passage through which St Paul was hurried by the captain Claudius Lysias, to save him from the fury of the Jewish mob.

CHAPTER XV.

The Temple of the Lord, and the Lord of the Temple.

"The Lord whom ye seek shall suddenly come to His Temple."
—Malachi iii. 1.

"Whoever has not seen the Temple in the perfection of its architecture," said the rabbis, "has never seen a beautiful structure in all the world. With what materials did Herod erect the building? Rava said with alabaster and marble; some say with alabaster, stibium, and marble; one row receding, another slightly projecting. Herod thought of covering the whole with gold, but the rabbis advised him to leave it as it was, as it resembled the waves of the sea."—Succah, f. 5, 1, 2.

So rose the Temple which, like that of Solomon, was the glory and astonishment of the whole earth, and of which the courts were trodden by the blessed feet of the Saviour of Mankind. His disciples, as they gazed on it, were filled with admiration. "Master," they said, "see what manner of stones and what buildings are here."* Doubtless, as they contemplated its magnificence, they were willing to forget the fact that it had been reared by a corrupt and semi-heathen king, the executioner of his own nearest and dearest, the butcher of the Sanhedrin—the king who had bathed the streets of Jerusalem with blood, and offered public sacrifices

* Matt. xxiv. 1; Mark xiii. 1; Luke xxi. 5.

and built unhallowed shrines to demons. Whoever built it, there it stood with its alternate masses of red and white marble, which the Rabbis compared to the swell and hollow of the sea waves, and with the gilded pinnacles and lustrous Pentelic marble which made it look like a mountain of snow tinged at the summit with the gold of dawn. There it gleamed in the burning noon, "adorned with goodly stones and gifts," so completely the pride of the whole earth "for glorious beauty" that the rabbis said, "The world is like an eye; its white is the ocean; its black the earth; the pupil is Jerusalem; the image within the pupil is the Sanctuary." To them it was the visible abode of the Divine Shechînah.

We may well imagine the proud astonishment of the devout Jew as he contemplated a building which has been described as "longer and higher than York Cathedral, standing on a solid mass of masonry almost equal in height to the tallest of our Church spires." But Christ did not share the enthusiasm of His disciples. It is not recorded that He ever uttered a word of commendation of the gorgeous material structure, stored with treasures, gleaming with votive offerings, and full of "the desirable things of all nations" which had flowed into it.* To Him, though "He taught daily in the Temple";—though in its precincts He uttered some of His most solemn and tender words, so as to wring even from the hostile emissaries of the priests the reluctant tribute that "never man spake like this man"; though the scenes which took place in it had suggested some of His most striking parables; though upon its shining floor He had stooped as if to write, when His searching words had brought a blush even upon the brazen faces of those who had dragged into it the wretched adulteress, who wept before Him amid her tangled hair; though, at its Maccabæan feast of the *Chanukka*, He had walked up and down in the sunny and

* Haggai ii. 7.

stately colonnade known as Solomon's Porch;* though, in the ceremonies of its Feast of Tabernacles, the lighting of the golden Candelabrum had suggested His great discourse on "I am the Light of the World," and the exultant festival of the drawing of water in a golden ewer from the Pool of Siloam had pointed the comparison of Himself to the Water of Life;—yet He was unmoved by the material splendour of a structure in which he beheld the shrine of a fussy and ceremonial religionism and the tomb of a true religion. His answer to His disciples was: "As for these things which ye behold, the days will come in which there shall not be left one stone upon another which shall not be thrown down." The Pharisees might boast that the rain had never extinguished the fire upon its altar, nor the wind scattered the smoke of its sacrifices: but it should become a desolation and a hissing.

The feeling of the Lord of Life for the material fabric which had become the stronghold of a hollow ritual, with all its dead formalities, was as nothing compared with His love for those whose souls are Temples of that Holy Spirit who prefers "before all temples the upright heart and pure." He would most assuredly have sanctioned with His approval the verses of the Christian poet—

> "Vainly we offer each ample oblation
> Vainly with gifts would His favour implore;
> Better by far is the heart's adoration
> Dearer to God are the prayers of the poor."

The sign He offered to the Jews, which they then regarded as a disparagement, and subsequently used as a calumny for His destruction, was: "Destroy this Temple, and in three days I will raise it up again": but He spoke of the Temple

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* John x. 23.

of His body. "Wilt *Thou* rear it in three days?" they answered with bitter sneers: "why, it has already taken forty and six years to build!" It was true; for though the part available for public worship had not taken ten years, the whole design, with its porticoes and colonnades, was not finally completed till A.D. 63, on the very eve of the great revolt.* In its finished glory the Temple of Herod only lasted for some six years. Even as the Jews spoke, they were probably within sight of the stores of hewn stone and marble which were being employed in the outer colonnades. The misunderstood allegory of the Temple which should be reared in three days seemed to them too ludicrous, as they looked on the huge masses of bevelled stone on the eastern wall, twenty feet long, and more than four feet high, which, in their "wailing-place," the Jews weekly bathe with their tears. At that time those vast blocks formed part of a wall, not silted up, as now, at the foundations with the accumulated *débris* of centuries, but so lofty that the head of one who gazed from the summit grew dizzy at the depth below.† Of the actual Temple which Jesus saw, and in which Jesus taught, nothing but the walls of the great platform now remain, and that inscription on a fragment of the Chêl, or partition-wall, forbidding Gentiles to pass any farther on pain of death, which His own eyes may have read.‡

If *anything* could have averted the sullen frenzy entertained against Herod by the Jews, it would have been the fact that he had thus conferred upon their religion a boon which elevated their national shrine into one of the wonders of the world. But here again the evil genius of Herod prevailed. His contempt for the easily ruffled susceptibilities of the strange nation which he governed, his preference of æstheticism to considerate sympathy, his inability, perhaps, even to

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* Josephus, *Antt.* xx. 9, 7.

† *Ibid.*, xv. 11, 5.

‡ It was discovered by M. Clermont Ganneau, built into the wall of a Mussulman's house. It is now, I believe, at Constantinople.

understand what a Jew felt about the ordinances of the Law, led him needlessly to inflict on the great mass of his subjects a wound which negatived all his objects, and rendered his munificence worse than nugatory for the purpose of winning popularity.

Yet how trivial a matter it was! How easily at the cost of an infinitely small sacrifice of his imperious will, and by giving up a paltry and most incongruous, as well as illegal ornament, might he have avoided a ground of offence which caused endless agony and horror, and completely obliterated every good effect which might otherwise have resulted from his kingly munificence! Over the great gate of the Temple —perhaps out of complaisance to the Romans, who might be flattered to see their national emblem in a place so sacred— perhaps to catch the favourable notice of the Roman Agrippa, who was expected in Jerusalem—he was foolish and reckless enough to place a great golden eagle, the emblem of the power of Rome.*

Every strict Jew would regard it as "a graven image," of which the construction involved a flagrant violation of the Second Commandment of the Decalogue. No Pharisee would pass beneath it without a shudder of abhorrence, and a secretly muttered curse against the tyrant who had thus outraged their holiest feelings.† And to this source of horror against him he added another, by opening the tomb of David in search for treasure. It was a very futile search, for if there had ever been any treasures there, they had already been rifled by John Hyrcanus I.; and the king's sacrilege—a sacrilege after which the Jews believed that he never enjoyed a happy day—was quite in vain. It was

* Herod's coins are mostly free from heathen symbols; but one of the latest period bears an eagle (Madden, *Jewish Coinage*, 81-91). Herod was half Hellenist, half barbarian; but, as a rule, when pride and passion did not warp his judgment, he did not *purposely* offend Jewish prejudice.

† "Nulla simulacra urbibus suis, nedum templis sinunt non regibus haec adulatio; non Cæsaribus honor."—Tac., *Hist.* v. 5.

believed that his purpose had been frustrated by the outburst of supernatural fires. That is likely enough, and is repeated in the account of Julian's attempt to build on the site of the Temple. If the story be true at all, the flames may easily have been generated in the vast subterranean caverns of Jerusalem, charged with the long accumulation of noxious gases.

The glare of the great golden eagle never ceased to be odious in Jewish eyes, and at last in B.C. 9, when Herod, whose health and reason were now deplorably undermined, was once more reported to be dying, two rabbis—Judas ben Sariph and Matthias ben Margaloth—with the cognisance of multitudes, entered into a conspiracy with their disciples to pull the hated idol down. It was mid-day. The Temple was thronged. Then the pupils of the rabbis, unimpeded by anyone, were seen to let themselves down by ropes from the Temple roof, to seize the gilded monster, and by the exertions of their utmost strength to hurl it down into the midst of the people. It was partly smashed by the fall, and the mob instantly fell upon it, and after hewing it into a thousand fragments, proceeded to assail and shatter every other semblance of a heathen image. But by this time the commandant of the forces in the Tower of Antonia had taken alarm at these riotous proceedings. He rushed down the subterranean passage which communicated with one of the Temple gates, dispersed the rebellious assemblage, and arrested forty of the young Pharisees, who were adherents of the rabbis, and ventured to resist. The only defence of their conduct which they deigned to offer when Herod questioned them was that they were instigated by "the Law." The two rabbis, and those who had actually hurled down the eagle, were burnt alive; the rest of those who had taken a distinct share in the proceeding were beheaded. The High Priest Matthias was deposed for asserted complicity in the plot, and his brother-in-law Joazar appointed in his place. This trial took place at Jericho, and did but

add a final touch of agony to the accumulated forms of disease, anguish, and despair which were now gnawing like vipers at the heart of this most splendid and most miserable of kings. Bodily, mentally, socially, politically, he became the most deplorable of shipwrecks.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Midnight and the Daystar.

"E'en in the absolutest drench of dark
God stooping shows sufficient of His light
For those i' the mirk to walk by."—Browning.

"Sky—what a scowl of cloud!
Till, near and far,
Ray on ray split the shroud—
Splendid—a Star!"—Idem.

Before this affair of the eagle Herod's execrable son Antipater soon found that the beginning of crime is but as the letting out of water, and that

"Revenge and wrong bring forth their kind;
The foul cubs like their parents are."

His brothers, Alexander and Aristobulus, after two fruitless reconciliations with their father, had been swept out of the bloodstained path which he had tried to cut for himself to an uneasy throne. But Alexander had left children who would be regarded by the whole populace as far more legitimate claimants to the crown than Antipater, who was utterly detested. His one chance was to get rid of the aged Herod, who was now sixty-nine years old, while the tender years of these grand-children of the Asmonæan Mariamne excluded them from the competition. Thinking that Rome would be the most promising theatre for the maturing of his

plots, he contrived to win the good offices of Saturninus, and to be sent to plead before Augustus a suit against the Arabians. There he formed an intrigue with a slave girl of the Empress Livia, named Acme, who might (he thought) be useful to him, since Salome was corresponding with Livia about her marriage affairs. He won by bribes all whom he thought likely to be useful. Not content with this, he now tried to inspire suspicion into the mind of his father against his brothers Archelaus and Philip, by means of letters which were conveyed by his freedman Bathyllus. But other plots were going on like wheels within wheels, and at last the intricate machinery fell to the ground with a crash, involving in common ruin all who had set it in motion.

For while Antipater was trying to induce Herod's brother Pheroras to poison the aged king, Pheroras was himself caught up into a series of Pharisaic machinations. About the very time that our Lord Jesus Christ was born, the world—and even to some extent the heathen world—was seething with Messianic expectations. We learn from Tacitus and Suetonius that throughout the Roman Empire there were vague prophecies that at this time one born in the East should secure the kingdom of the world; and on the birth of Pollio's child, Vergil had sung of the Golden Age which he was destined to inaugurate—

"Magnus ab integro saeclorum nascitur ordo."

The Pharisees were in a condition of great excitement. They shared these Messianic hopes, and wished to make Pheroras king, because the low-born wife—for whose sake he had quarrelled with Herod, refused his proffered daughters, and been dismissed to his Peræan tetrarchy—was a devotee of their sect, and had paid their fines for refusing the oath of allegiance. They spoke of their designs and published their prophecies with dangerous openness. In the household of Herod was a doting eunuch, named Bagoas, whom

they persuaded to believe that in him should be fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah: "Let not the eunuch say I am a dry tree," and that he should raise up a son to the childless tetrarch. Also, strange to say, the Pharisees won into complicity with their designs the beautiful youth Carus, one of those portents whom Roman and Eastern vice had brought into the court of a Judæan king. The suspicious watchfulness of Salome and the silly talk of Bagoas made the plot prematurely known, and the eunuch and the favourite, with their religious abettors, were in their turn brought to the scaffold.

And now occurred the final and most terrible explosion. Pheroras had sworn that he would never come to Herod again, and at this time he fell sick. Herod, in whom not even the awful events of his life had quenched every spark of natural affection—who had loved his wife Mariamne; who had loved his fine sons Alexander and Aristobulus; who had loved, in spite of their vileness, his sister Salome, his uncle Joseph, and his brother Phasael—now showed his genuine affection for this bad brother, whose benefactor he had been, and who had secretly plotted to murder him. He came, unsummoned, to visit Pheroras in his illness. Pheroras was touched to the heart by this visit. He was reconciled to his brother, and before he died ordered his wife to fling into the fire the poison which had been sent him by Antipater in order to murder the king.

But when the grand funeral of Pheroras was over, two of his freedmen came forward and accused his "pious" wife—this female member of the strictest sect of the Chasidim—of having poisoned her husband! They said that Doris, the bad mother of the bad Antipater, had promoted an adulterous intrigue between her son and the wife of Pheroras, and that she, in order to wed her lover, had obtained a poison from some low Arabian women, and administered it to the tetrarch just deceased. Thereupon some of the slaves of Pheroras were seized, and when put

to the torture, confessed among other things that Pheroras had received poison from Antipater to kill Herod. Then the wife of Pheroras was examined, confessed her guilt, and going to the roof of the palace, flung herself from it. She did not however die of the fall, and in answer to the adjurations of Herod, and a promise of pardon, she confessed that the poison had been brought from Antipater by Theudion his uncle, and that when Pheroras, touched by the death-bed visit of his brother, had ordered her to burn it before his face, she had obeyed, only reserving a little to kill herself if Herod should treat her ill. It was during this state of affairs that Bathyllus, the freedman of Antipater, a rived. He brought fresh letters, secretly accusing Archelaus and Philip to their father, and carrying a yet stronger poison for Doris and Pheroras, that one of the two might give it to the king. Herod now wrote a kind letter, summoning Antipater home, and purposely not alarming him, lest he should make his escape. Strange to say, that though these proceedings had been going on for some time, Antipater had heard nothing about them. Herod had indignantly repudiated Doris a second time, and stripped her of all her wealth, but this was explained to Antipater as a trifle which would be set right on his arrival. Finding that Mariamne, the daughter of Simon, had been implicated in the recent plot, he had divorced her also, deposed her father Simon ben Boethos from the High Priesthood, and substituted Matthias in his place. He had put many slaves to the torture, and among them the confidential emissaries of his son. Yet Antipater had not heard a word about these events! Josephus accounts for the circumstance by the fact that all the roads were most carefully guarded, and that Antipater—who seems to have been an unparalleled monster of wickedness—was so universally detested, that no one desired to save him by putting him on his guard. His mother Doris had sent him a secret letter, warning him not to come, but the slaves who were conveying the letter

had been caught, and the letter forfeited. Josephus adds that it was as if the ghosts of Alexander and Aristobulus, whom Antipater had done to death, and by whom the palace of Herod was haunted, had supernaturally closed the mouths of all who might have warned their traitorous murderer of the perils which were closing around him.

He landed at Cæsarea, and found a solitude. There was no one to welcome him; he appeared to be sedulously avoided, and people seemed afraid to return his salute. Then the dark misgiving which had overshadowed his own mind was confirmed. He was however persuaded that it would be dangerous, useless, and indeed impossible to attempt to return to Rome. With the shadows of a haunted midnight creeping over his icy heart, he sullenly rode on his way to Jerusalem. When he arrived he boldly advanced to salute his father, who met him with the stern words: "Even this marks a parricide, to wish to get me into his arms, while under such heinous accusations! God confound thee, vile wretch! Touch me not till thou has cleared thyself!"

He was immediately tried before Herod, who had as his assessor the Governor of Syria, Quintilius Varus. The old king made a truly pathetic speech as he narrated the boundless affection which he had squandered on a son "more execrable than any wild beast," who had repaid that affection by being the murderer of all whom he most dearly loved, and now sought to murder his father! "Yet," he said, "does this parricide presume to speak for himself, and hopes to obscure the truth by his cunning tricks. Thou, O Varus, must thyself be on thy guard against him; for I know the wild beast, and see how plausibly he will talk and counterfeit lamentation. This was he who exhorted me to have a care of my son Alexander when he was alive, and not to entrust my body with all men. This was he who came to my very bed, and looked about lest anyone should lay snares for me. This was he who took care of my sleep, and

secured me from any fear of danger, and comforted me in the trouble I was in upon the slaughter of my sons! This was my protector and the guardian of my body! And when I call to mind, O Varus, his craftiness upon every occasion, and his art of dissembling, I can hardly believe that I am still alive, and wonder how I have escaped such a deep plotter of mischief."

During this speech Antipater had been lying at his father's feet, with prayers and tears and lamentations. He now arose, and made an appeal so full (as it seemed) of exquisite innocence and pathos, that even Varus was moved to commiseration. But the able advocate Nicolas of Damascus spoke next; tore the sophistic defence of Antipater to shreds, and overwhelmed him with the positive proofs of his guilt. The poison, brought by Bathyllus, was produced. A condemned criminal was ordered to drink it. He did so, and died upon the spot. Varus rose in horror and deep emotion, whispered a few words to Herod, and retired. Antipater was flung into chains, and Herod wrote to tell Cæsar of his manifold misfortunes.

Then another plot of Antipater's was discovered. He had a friend named Antiphilus, who lived in Egypt, and had bribed him to forge letters against Salome. They were forged and sent to Acme, the slave girl of the Empress Livia, whom for his own purpose Antipater had seduced. Acme wrote to tell him that she was now sending to him an incriminatory letter of Salome, which she had found among the papers of the empress—with whom Salome was known to correspond. "When Herod reads it," wrote Acme, "he will certainly not spare his sister; and then you must remember your promises to me." This letter was not found on Antiphilus's slave at first, till one of Herod's friends noticed a seam, and a doubling of cloth upon his inner tunic, and there it had been concealed. The supposed letter of Salome to Livia was a glaring forgery, and Salome, beating on her breast, bade Herod kill her at once, if he

could produce the least evidence against her. This new discovery flung Herod into the depths of wretchedness. He feared that the letters on the strength of which he had condemned his son Alexander might also have been forgeries. His interviews with his guilty son only deepened his abhorrence at such a prodigy of wickedness; yet he dared not execute him without Cæsar's leave. He however altered his will again, and striking out Antipater's name, made Antipas his heir, since the wretched son of Doris had by his lies effectually poisoned his mind against Archelaus and Philip.

And now—in the fierce sullenness gendered by the knowledge of how deeply he was hated by the subjects on whom he had bestowed such vast and fruitless benefits—feeling that, as Josephus says, "the nation was pleased with his misfortunes"; haunted by the midnight ghosts of his dead wife and his dead sons, and the Asmonæans whom he had doomed to death; torn by the memory of his crimes, conscious that his end was near, and that his life had been, in spite of all its success and splendour, a most deplorable failure, Herod fell into a complication of disorders, physical and mental. He sank into a loathsome mass of disease and ferocious madness. "After this," says Josephus, "the distemper seized his whole body, and greatly disordered all its parts with various symptoms; and this by God's judgment upon him for his sins." A fire glowed in him slowly, which was perceptible rather inwardly than outwardly. His appetite was enormous, but he could not gratify it without pain. His entrails were ulcerated; his feet and belly were dropsical; his body bred worms; he could only breathe with difficulty; his breath was fetid; he suffered from constant convulsions, and his body itched all over. If he was not "eaten of worms," like his son Agrippa I., his malady, nevertheless, inspired horror. His physicians prescribed for him the warm baths of Callirrhoe, and affusions of hot oil. He seemed to be at the very point of death, when the cries of

his servants aroused him. He distributed great sums of money among his soldiers and friends, and managed to be carried back to Jericho. There, in his madness, he ordered Salome to summon all the chiefs of the Jews, to have them shut up in the Hippodrome, and then to send in his soldiers and massacre them all, that his funeral might be accompanied with the genuine lamentations of the whole people who hated him.

While he was in this awful condition of mind and body, letters came from Augustus saying that he had ordered the slave girl Acme to be put to death, and gave Herod leave to execute or banish his son Antipater. The letters pleased him, but he soon fell into such spasms of pain that he asked for an apple, and a knife to pare it with. No sooner had he got the knife than he raised his right hand to stab himself, but his faithful cousin Achiab sprang forward with a cry, and prevented him. The prison of Antipater was not far off, and hearing the lamentations in the palace, the prince assumed that his father was dead, and tried to bribe the jailer with immense promises to set him free. The jailer reported this to Herod, who, on hearing it, though he was at death's door, rose on his elbow, beat his head, and roared, in a voice which astonished them from its loudness—"Then kill him at once, and bury him ignobly in the Hyrcanium." It was done. The ghost of Antipater had not long to wait. Five days after the king himself was dead; he had succeeded to the throne in B.C. 46; he died on 1st April B.C. 4 of our Vulgar Era. He was seventy, and he had reigned thirty-seven years since he had been proclaimed king by the Romans, and thirty-four since he had conquered Jerusalem, and secured the execution of his predecessor and father-in-law, Antigonus. Surely among

"The strange stories of the deaths of kings"

none was more strange, and none assuredly so frightful, as that of him whom men described as "the Great King,"

though his grandeur was only that of a magnificent slave.*

In the last four days of his life, Herod had again made a new will, in which he left Judæa to Archelaus, appointing Herod Antipas tetrarch of Peraea and Galilee, and Philip tetrarch of Batanæa, Gaulanitis, Trachonitis, and Paneas. To Salome he bequeathed 5000 silver denarii, and the cities of Azotus, Jamnia, and Phasaelis. Among rich legacies to other relatives, he also made immense bequests to Augustus and Livia.

Before his death, Salome and her third husband, the courtier Alexas, whom she had unwillingly married when Syllæus was refused her hand, set free the Jewish nobles from the Hippodrome, as though by Herod's order. The new King Archelaus had his father's body conveyed eight miles by his bodyguard of Gauls, Thracians, and Germans, and by the rest of his army in full war array, to his favourite fortress of Herodium. The bier was of gold, adorned with precious stones, and surrounded by his sons and kinsmen. On it lay the corpse, wrapped in purple and fine linen, with crown and diadem and golden sceptre. Five hundred slaves and freedmen followed the bier, burning spices and sweet incense; and so the tomb closed over the most splendid and the most wretched of Jewish kings.

Such were the conditions of the world when Jesus our Lord was born; such was the chaotic state of confusion, wickedness, and corruption into which the world was plunged which He came to save. Such were the kings who were reigning at the Advent of the King of kings. Rome had

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* Some have supposed that the title is mistaken from the Hebrew רבא, "the elder," like ὁ μέγος in Josephus, (*Antt.* xviii. 8, 4; *see* Ewald, *Gesch.* iv. 473). There are points in which Herod greatly reminds us of Henry VIII. Like him he was ostentatious, luxurious, bold, generous, tyrannical, with many of the elements of a popular hero (*see* Bishop Westcott Smith's *Dictionary*, ii. 1343).

lost her ancient liberties, and was falling into that condition of ever-deepening putrescence which leaves its foul traces on the pages of her poets, historians, and satirists. Paganism had become, over vast regions of the Roman Empire, little more than a corrupt atheism, which partly disguised itself under a hypocritic worship of wicked emperors. In Judæa it had sunk into sacerdotal functions, and the ridiculously ignoble minutiæ of a petty ceremonialism. The darkness was at its deepest before the dawn.

Our Vulgar Era—only suggested in the Western Church in the time of the Abbot Dionysius Exiguus, about A.D. 526, is now universally acknowledged to be wrong by at least two or three, and most probably by four years. If so, Jesus was born in the very year stained by the tragic abominations which we have narrated, and the angels sang above His cradle their divine song of "Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, goodwill towards men," at the very time when the Temple courts rang with the shouts of rioters, doomed to be burned alive, and when the wail of bereaved women was mingled with the cries of tortured men. The gorgeous palace of Jerusalem, hard by the new Temple of the Lord, to which the Lord of the Temple came, was stained with the blood of sons shed by their father, and haunted by the wandering ghosts alike of the guilty and the innocent.

"The history of the Herodian family," says Bishop Westcott, "presents one side of the last development of the Jewish nation. The evils which had existed in the hierarchy which grew up after the Return, found an unexpected development in the tyranny of a foreign usurper. Religion was adopted as a policy; and the Hellenising designs of Antiochus Epiphanes were carried out, at least in their spirit, by men who professed to observe the Law. Side by side with the spiritual Kingdom of God, preached by John the Baptist, and founded by the Lord, a kingdom of the world was established, which, in its external splendour, recalled the traditional magnificence of Solomon. The simultaneous realisations of

the two principles, national and spiritual, which had long variously influenced the Jews, in this establishment of a Dynasty and a Church, is a fact pregnant with instruction. In the fulness of time a descendant of Esau established a false counterpart of the promised glories of the Messiah."

Although all the circumstances and conditions of the life of Christ were materially influenced by the events of the reign of Herod and of his sons, and the state of religious parties which was developed by his rule, yet at one point only did the king's career come into immediate contact with the life of the King of kings. It was when the Magi, who had seen His star in the East and came to worship Him, excited the quick jealousy of Herod, and caused him to massacre the babes of Bethlehem. That this pathetic incident is not directly narrated by Josephus can excite no astonishment amid the many crimes and massacres of the reign. The babes thus killed could hardly have been more than ten or twelve in number.*

There is a well-known difficulty about the Census, or, as it should rather be called, "the Enrolment" (ἀπογραφή) of Cyrenius or Quirinius, which caused the journey of Joseph to Bethlehem, that he might there enrol himself as a descendant of the royal line of David, with Mary, his espoused wife. I cannot here enter into it, as it does not directly affect my subject; but in my *Life of Christ* I have given the conclusions arrived at by the eminent German scholar Zumpt, and I still regard the solution which he furnishes as being adequate to support the historic accuracy of the Gospel. In every particular the brief allusions of the Evangelist are in accordance with the general circumstances of the epoch, and with all that we know of Herod, his hopes and fears, his superstitions and jealousies, his astute policies and

* Two allusions in Josephus (*Antt.* xvi. 11, 7, 8; xvii. 2, 4), and one in Macrobius (*Saturn.* ii. 4) may involve some confused echoes of the event.

subterranean methods. But the streams of sacred and secular history flowed side by side, and a long series of years was destined to elapse before they mingled their divers-coloured waves in that great tide which now ebbs and flows about the habitable globe, stained by the influx of the world's evil, and not, alas! as yet perfectly purified by the river of the Water of Life, clear as crystal, which proceeds out of the throne of God and of the Lamb.

CHAPTER XVII.

Archelaus the Ethnarch (B.C. 4–A.D. 6).

"A certain nobleman went into a far country to receive for himself a kingdom, and to return."—Luke xix. 12.

Herod had made and cancelled several wills amid the agonies of doubt and rage which agitated his later years. He had at one time meant to bequeath the entire kingdom which his genius had created to Herod Philip, son of the second Mariamne, daughter of Simon the Boethusian, whom he had created High Priest. This will, with all others, was withdrawn during the last days of his life. He finally divided his kingdom between Archelaus and Antipas, the two sons of the Samaritan Malthace, and Philip, son of the lovely Cleopatra of Jerusalem. Archelaus was to be King of Judæa with Samaria and Ituræa; Antipas was to be Tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa; and Philip of Trachonitis. Salome received the cities Jamnia, Ashdod and Phasaelis, with a large revenue.

Archelaus from the first excited the deepest misgivings. He was charged with indecent joy, imperfectly shrouded by hypocrisy, at his father's death. On the very night that Herod died he was said to have held a secret banquet, and during the ostentatious eight days of mourning and fasting, to have revelled in midnight orgies with his friends.

At the end of the eight days Archelaus met his soldiers, read to them the will in which Herod bequeathed to him the kingdom, and asked them to be faithful to him. He spread a feast to the people, and then gave them audience in

great splendour, seating himself in the Temple on a throne of gold. He promised to rule them more kindly and justly than his father, and was at first received with shouts of applause. The harmony was soon broken. The more hot-headed Pharisees began to clamour for remission of taxes and customs, for the dismissal of the High Priest Joazar, for the release of prisoners, and the punishment of all who had taken part in bringing about the punishment of the rabbis and their disciples who had torn down the golden eagle. In vain did Archelaus assure them that as yet he could not undertake these measures, since he had no right to the diadem until his inheritance had been approved by Augustus. The people still raged and murmured. Archelaus sent his soldiers among them to suppress their tumult without using their arms. The soldiers were driven back. The aspect of affairs became terribly threatening, for now the Jews of all countries were flocking in myriads to the Passover. Inspired with all the headstrong fanaticism of their race, they seized possession of the Temple. As the uproar rose louder and louder, and Archelaus feared a general revolt, he sent a band of soldiers under a centurion to arrest the ring-leaders. They were driven back by showers of stones, and many of them were wounded, together with their officer. It is a characteristic fact that after this feat the Zealots quietly continued to offer the Passover sacrifices as if nothing had happened. Then Archelaus thought that it was too late for half-measures. He sent out his army, and the cavalry troops were ordered to cut off the strangers who were encamped outside the city. In the fighting which ensued, 3000 Jews were slain; the Passover pilgrims were driven to the mountains, and, to the general horror and alarm, the Paschal Feast, by an unheard-of irregularity, was broken up before it was concluded.

After this disastrous initiative of his reign, Archelaus hurried to Rome, accompanied by Salome. She pretended to favour, but secretly meant to undermine, his claims. He

also took with him the brothers Nicolas and Ptolemæus of Damascus to plead his cause. At the same time Herod Antipas went to Rome with the rhetorician Irenæus to maintain the efficacy of Herod's earlier will, asserting that the later will was drawn up under undue influence, and when the dying king was of unsound mind. Most of the members of the family preferred Antipas to Archelaus. We need not follow the course of the odious and contemptible plots and counterplots which ensued. They were further complicated by a deputation of fifty Jews, whom Quintilius Varus, the Prefect of Syria, allowed to sail to Rome, to plead against both Archelaus and Antipas, and to ask that Judæa might be left to its own theocracy under the civil government of a Roman Procurator. So sick were the Jews of Herodian kingship, that 8000 Jews met the deputies at Rome with tumultuous joy. Augustus, however, rejected their demand, not trusting the Jews to their own devices. After hearing the advocates on both sides, he reserved his judgment, but finally, in the autumn of B.C. 4, confirmed in the main the claims of Archelaus, who received for his portion Judæa, Samaria, and Idumæa, and who was to be called Ethnarch till he should deserve the title of King. But the kingdom was now divided into three separate territories: Archelaus was Ethnarch of Judæa; Antipas was made Tetrarch of Galilee; and Philip of Batanæa, Gaulanitis and Auranitis.

Meanwhile Judæa was left a prey to tumults; and, as Josephus says, "to ten thousand other disorders, which were like tumults." Archelaus had left his half-brother Philip, the best of Herod's sons, as his Vice-Regent; but Philip was unable to keep order, and Varus, the Prefect of Syria, sent Sabinus as Procurator, with a legion.* Sabinus,

* *See* Josephus, *Antt.* xvii. 9-10; *B. J.*, ii. 5, 1-5. This, says Josephus, was the most important war between the times of Pompey and Vespasian (Append. I. 7). *See* Derenbourg, p. 194; Grätz, iii. 714; Schürer, I. ii.

by his rapacity and extortions, his burnings and plunderings, drove the people of Jerusalem to madness. They rose against him at the Feast of Pentecost, hunted the Romans out of the Temple, and besieged them in the Castle of Antonia. Terrible massacres ensued; the Romans shot flights of arrows, and the Jews assailed them with slings and stones. At last, to dislodge their enemies, the Romans set fire to the cloisters, which were consumed, and the Jews on the roofs were crushed and buried in the ruins. Sabinus seized the sacred *Corban*, or Temple treasury, appropriating 400 talents to himself. The revolt spread, and the confusion became inextricable, since some of Herod's veterans joined one side, and some the other. Judas, the son of the bandit Hezekiah, whom Herod had defeated and put to death, raised the banner of the Zealots in Galilee, and inflicted terrible damages "by tearing and rending those that came near him."* Simon, a tall and handsome slave of Herod, had the insolence to assume the diadem, and to plunder Jericho. A gigantic shepherd, named Ethrog, with his four brothers, who had the same personal strength, raised the standard of revolt, claimed to be a sort of Messiah, and hurrying towards Jerusalem with a crown and purple robe, routed a Roman cohort at Emmaus with his arrows, and slew the centurion and 400 men. Then Varus came with his army. He suppressed these disorders with immense difficulty, executed the ringleaders, and crucified 2000 Jews. Those few weeks had inflicted deep wounds upon the land. The flower of the Jewish youth lay slain upon the fields of battle. In Galilee and Judæa the smoke of the burning towns and villages rose to Heaven, and the corpses of 2000 brave patriots, rotting upon as many crosses, were a warning far and wide against similar attempts. Samaria alone was spared, since it had taken no part in the rebellion. In reward for their loyalty one

* Josephus, *Antt.* xvii. 10, 5.

third of the taxes were remitted to the Samaritans, and as much more added on to the Jews, who thus found new ground for hatred against "the foolish people of Sichem." * Even after this, fresh troubles were created by a Jewish Perkin Warbeck, who pretended to be the slain Alexander, son of the Asmonæan Mariamne, and gained many adherents. He was detected by the astuteness of Augustus, who, after everyone else had been deceived, observing that the hands of the youth were hard and horny, and that his person had none of the aristocratic softness of outline which had distinguished the sons of Mariamne, took him aside, induced him to confess the imposture, and made him a rower in one of his galleys.

It was probably towards the close of the first year of the infancy of Jesus that Archelaus came back to assume the government. When we know his evil repute, we are not surprised that "when Joseph heard that Archelaus was reigning over Judæa in the room of his father Herod, he was afraid to go thither; and being warned of God in a dream, he withdrew into the parts of Galilee, and came and dwelt in a city called Nazareth." †

It has often been left unnoticed that as much as thirty years later our Lord introduced some of the incidents which we have narrated into the Parable of the Pounds.‡ Archelaus was the "nobleman who went into a far country (Rome) to seek a kingdom, and to return." He left the administration to such as he could trust, of whom some were energetic and faithful, and others indolent and careless. The hatred of him as "an austere man" led the Jews to send an embassy to Rome with the object of inducing Cæsar to allow them finally to shake off the Herodian rule. Archelaus dis-

* Hausrath, ii. 57.

† Matt. ii. 22, 23. The word βασιλεύει is quite accurate, for in the interval before his designation by Augustus as Ethnarch, he had been saluted "king."

‡ Luke xix. 11-27.

tributed his rewards and punishments on his return, as the parable indicates, since he had gained his cause from the partiality of Augustus for his father. He "took possession of his ethnarchy," says Josephus, "and used not the Jews only, but also the Samaritans barbarously, and this out of his resentment for their old quarrels with him." The impression caused by these events must have been very deep, or Christ would not have used them by way of illustration so long afterwards.

Archelaus reigned for nine years amid hatred largely mingled with contempt. He deposed the High Priest Joazar, and put his brother Eleazar in his place. Hardly any great work is recorded of him, except that he rebuilt the palace of Jericho, and planted palm-trees. He was a conspicuous example of the infatuated wrongheadedness of misdirected passion, which so often marred the designs of the Herods. At Cappadocia (apparently) he saw Glaphyra, the beautiful and frivolous Greek widow of his half-brother Alexander, son of Mariamne, to whom she had borne three children, and whom Herod had put to death. She was now a widow for the second time, having meanwhile been wedded to Juba, King of Libya. Archelaus fell violently in love with her, repudiated his own wife Mariamne, and, to the horrified disgust of the Jews and in flagrant violation of the Law, married her. After nine years Archelaus became so insupportable that alike the Jews, the Samaritans, and his own brothers appealed against him to Augustus, who, after hearing their complaints, banished him to Vienne, in Gaul, where he vanishes into final oblivion. He was seated at a banquet when the messenger arrived who ordered him to Rome. Five days before, he had a dream of oxen eating ten ears of ripe wheat, which Simon the Essene interpreted to him as signifying that "his reign was now over." Glaphyra also, in that ghost-haunted palace, had a dream that her first husband Alexander appeared to her, reproached her with her marriage to his brother, and told her

that after all he should possess her again. She died two days afterwards. The remark of the ghost in this dream, together with Glaphyra's three marriages, of which two were to brothers, may perhaps have suggested to the Sadducees the parable of the woman who had had seven husbands who were brothers. The Jews at this time often veiled in cryptograms their attacks and criticisms upon their rulers, and concealed under the guise of casuistical inquiries the real import of their discussions.

With Archelaus ended all remaining semblance of the monarchy. The sceptre departed from Judah. The palace of the Herods became the Prætorium of the often obscure and plebeian Roman Procurator, while the sons of the great king had to be content with the old and much inferior palace of the Maccabees. The Roman Procurator was subordinate to the Prefect of Syria. The miserable Jews soon found that their lot under such men as Valerius Gratus, Pontius Pilate, Cuspius Fadus, Tiberius Alexander, Felix, Albinus, and Gessius Florus, was considerably worse than it had been under the worst of these alien Idumæan kings.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Herod Philip I.

Herod Philip I. was the son of Herod the Great and the second Mariamne, who was a daughter of the Simon ben Boethos whom Herod invested with the High Priesthood. There is little or nothing to tell of him, since he lived and died in a private position, owing his exclusion from his father's will to the detected treachery of his mother in aiding the crooked designs of Antipater.* As will be mentioned in the life of Herod Antipas, Herod Philip was married to his half-niece Herodias, a daughter of Aristobulus, eldest son of Herod and the Asmonæan Mariamne, who had been married to his cousin Berenice, daughter of Salome, Herod's sister. He is only mentioned in reference to the treacherous abduction of his ambitious wife Herodias by his half-brother Herod Antipas (Matt. xiv. 3; Mark vi. 17; Luke iii. 19). The date of his death is unknown, and Jerome (with others) confuses him with "Philip the Tetrarch," who was a wholly different person. His father had once designed him to be the sole heir of his kingdom; but although he was disinherited through the folly and misconduct of his mother, he was left in possession of great wealth, which he enjoyed in a life of unrecorded obscurity.

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* Josephus, *B. J.* i. 30, 7.

Philip the Tetrarch (B.C. 4–A.D. 34).

It is refreshing to find among the cruel, troubled, intriguing, miserable, and often worthless members of Herod's family, one at least who won an honourable renown.*

Philip, the son of Cleopatra of Jerusalem—not to be confused with Herod Philip, son of the Boethusian Mariamne—has on the whole an excellen' record.† He did not mingle himself in the intrigues of his family, but accepted the duties which came to him, and discharged them with faithful contentment. In the disputes about Herod's will, he favoured the cause of Archelaus. His tetrarchy comprised the poorest and most harassed parts of his father's kingdom, consisting of Batanæa, Auranitis, Trachonitis, and the domain of Zenodorus.‡ His people were mainly Syrians and Greeks, and he was only allowed to raise 100 talents of revenue, while Archelaus might raise 600, and Antipas 400. He, too, had been educated at Rome, and had won the respect both of the Romans and of his half-brothers. For thirty-seven years he devoted himself in peace to the well-ordering of his dominions, and ruled with mildness and justice, protecting his subjects from robbers, and taking his "curule" chair with him from place to place to administer justice to the remotest villages.§ Josephus says that by throwing chaff into Lake Phiala, which emerged at the supposed source of the Jordan at Panium, he proved that the river flowed

* In the division of Herod's kingdom, Salome, Herod's sister, obtained the cities of Jamnia, Azotus, and Phasælis, a palace at Ascalon, and 50,000 pieces of silver. She died very rich, about A.D. 10, and left her wealthy possessions to the Empress Livia, wife of Augustus.

† *See* Bishop Westcott, in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible;* Reuss, *O. T.*, p. 558; Ewald, vi. 71-74; Keim, i. 258-274; and Articles in Winer, Herzog, Schenkel, and Lewin's *Fasti*. The articles on Herod's family in Schenkel's *Bibel-lexicon* are by Keim.

‡ Luke iii. 1.

§ On this official use of the judge's chair (which Josephus calls "the throne on which he sits to judge"), *see* Matt. xxvii. 19; John xix. 13; Acts xxv. 6.

for some distance through a subterranean katabathron.* He rebuilt the Bethsaiada at the north of the lake, and called it Julias, after Julia, the profligate daughter of Augustus. With still more magnificence he rebuilt the ancient Paneas, and called it Cæsarea Philippi. These two cities were the chief memorial he left behind him. Even with so suspicious and unscrupulous a neighbour as his brother Antipas, Philip lived in unbroken amity; and after the evil fashion of the Herods he married—when no longer young, and indeed after he had already built his own magnificent mausoleum—Salome, daughter of the other Herod Philip and of their common niece, the adulterous Herodias. He had no children. Philip the Tetrarch has but a slight and incidental connection with the history of our Lord in the Gospels. He had made Cæsarea Philippi an asylum of refuge, as is shown by the coins of the city. In or near this asylum—"in the villages of Cæsarea Philippi"—our Lord took refuge during His year of wandering.

It is probable that the idolatrous temple which Herod the Great had erected at Paneas, and which was stamped even on Philip's coins, would prevent our Lord and His apostles from entering the city itself. But it must be remembered that Philip's subjects were mainly pagans, so that he was the first Jewish prince who used images on his coins.†

It was near Philip's capital that the questions were asked, "Whom do men say that I, the Son of Man, am?" and "Whom do *ye* say that I am?" To the latter question St Peter made the momentous answer, which constituted a memorable epoch in the Gospel history.

Philip died childless at Bethsaiada Julias, A.D. 34, and his dominions were annexed to the province of Syria.‡ He

* Josephus, *B. J.*, iii. 10, 7. Lake Phiala is supposed to be Berket Ram (Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, 394). But modern researches have shown that the story can scarcely be true.

† Madden, *Jewish Coinage*, 100-102.

‡ Josephus, *Antt.* xviii. 4, 6.

had reigned thirty-seven years. In A.D. 37 Caligula gave his tetrarchy to his favourite, King Agrippa I.

Herod Antipas the Tetrarch (B.C. 4–A.D. 39.)

εἴπατε τῇ ἀλώπεκι ταύτῃ.—Luke xiii. 32.

Antipas, the younger brother of Archelaus, had, like his brothers, received the dubious and corrupting advantage of contact with western civilisation by his education at Rome. Augustus seems to have seen through his contemptible nature. But the "wily sneak" * received the confidence of the like-minded Tiberius, who succeeded Augustus in A.D. 14, and who, to the disgust and discomfiture of the Proconsul Vitellius,† kept up a private correspondence with him. Our Lord described him in almost the sole contemptuous reference which is recorded among His words. When told—whether truly or falsely—by the Pharisees that Antipas was seeking to slay Him, He only answered, "Go ye and tell *this fox*." ‡ He received the tetrarchate of Galilee as his share of his father's dominions.§

Antipas was married to a daughter of Hareth, King of Arabia. It was a marriage of the kind which Augustus specially approved, because it prevented wars by the mutual

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* Hausrath. Schürer characterises him as "sly, ambitious, luxurious, but not so able as his father."

† Vitellius was specially hurt by one instance in which he was out-manœuvred by Herod's vaulting astuteness. When Artabanus, the King of Parthia, was trying to annex Armenia, Vitellius tried to get him assassinated; but the Emperor Tiberius ordered Vitellius to make peace with him. They met on a bridge which was thrown across the Euphrates, and on this bridge Herod had a sumptuous tent erected, and gave a royal entertainment. After this, Herod, by a system of swift posts, had intelligence of the treaty conveyed to the Emperor before Vitellius could send it, thereby causing the Proconsul a deep offence, which he afterwards avenged.

‡ Luke xiii. 32.

§ He is rightly called "the tetrarch," in Matthew xiv. 1; Luke iii. 19. It is only popularly that he is called "king" in Mark vi. 14.

interests created by personal affinities. For a time he prospered, and his tetrarchy, though small, was rich and fertile. Lavish like the rest of his family, and desirous like them at once to win fame as a builder, and to gratify by adulation the Imperial Roman family, he rebuilt Beth-Haran in the south of Peræa, and called it Livias, after the wife of Augustus, to whom Salome at her death (A.D. 13) had bequeathed her Jewish estates. He then rebuilt Sepphoris, which for a time he made his capital, and the fortress of Machaerus, which he extended into a town and a splendid palace. His last and most enduring work was the building of a new city on the Sea of Galilee, which he called Tiberias, after his friend the Emperor. From the time it was finished he made it his capital. It was enchanting in its natural surroundings, central in position, and near the healing and much frequented hot-springs of Calirrhoe. Here, however, he was brought into collision with the convictions of the Jews. On digging the foundations of the city they came across the remains of an old cemetery. The rabbis therefore declared the site to be unclean. No Jew could enter or leave it without seven days' purifications,* and in order to secure a population Herod had to offer large bribes and immunities, and even to give ground gratuitously to slaves and beggars. He offended the Pharisees still more by building a *stadium*, and by the decorations of the very sumptuous palace which he built in his new city. The façade was adorned with the figures of animals, which were looked upon as a deliberate violation of the Second Commandment. It may have been for these reasons, as well as from dislike to Herod and from the danger of his machinations, that our Lord is not once said to have entered Tiberias, though it lay so near to the main scenes of His Galilean ministry, and though Herod had provided it with an enormous synagogue. Antipas was

* Numb. xix. 11 ; Josephus, *Antt.* xviii. 2, 3 ; Mishna Ohaloth, xvii., xviii.

supported by his army, and by those lax Jews who formed the political party of the Herodians; but by the orthodox Jews he was both hated and despised, although he went up to Jerusalem to the yearly feasts, and so far conformed to Jewish prejudices as to have no image on his coins.* The rites of Judaism were not only tolerated but respected, and the Sanhedrin had considerable authority in the regulation of the law.

It was the Roman dominance, of which the tetrarch was little more than a puppet, which necessitated the existence of the new class of "publicans." They were required to collect the customs, the agency of which was farmed out to them. The lessees were usually Roman knights, whose subordinates, being intensely unpopular, could only as a rule be drawn from the lowest of the people. They were often extortionate, and all the more because the people who paid the customs thought it almost a merit to be fraudulent. The Talmudists speak of these tax-gatherers as out of the pale of ordinary intercourse, and even in the Gospels, which in this respect adopt the popular phraseology, they are often coupled with "sinners."

But Herod laid the foundation of his worst crimes, and of his ultimate doom, when he was hurried by the fury of his unlawful passions into a marriage, doubly incestuous and doubly adulterous, with Herodias, the daughter of his executed half-brother Aristobulus, son of the Asmonæan Mariamne. Herodias was one of the few remaining descendants of the Maccabees. She was a grand-daughter of Herod the Great, and also of his sister Salome, and of the disreputable Sheykh Costobar; so that in her veins was mingled the blood of many evil and passionate ancestors. Herodias had been married to her half-uncle Herod, son of the second Mariamne, and grandson of the High Priest Simon the Boethusian. After the extinction of all his

* Madden, pp. 95-99.

ambitious hopes this Herod Philip, as we have seen, lived mostly at Rome as a private and wealthy citizen. Such indolent obscurity did not suit the flaming ambition of his high-born niece and bride. When Antipas stayed with them as their guest in Rome, she struck up an adulterous intrigue with him, and secured his promise to divorce his wife, the daughter of the Arabian King Hareth, and to marry her on his return to his tetrarchy.

By this guilty lack of self-conquest Herod Antipas plunged himself in trouble. The secrets of courts are rarely kept. His Arabian wife, hearing of the indignity which was to be put upon her, asked leave to visit Machaerus, on the plea of ill health—perhaps that she might drink the waters of its medicinal springs. Her real reason was that she might be close to her father King Hareth, who there met her, and took her to his palace at Petra. Peace was not immediately broken, for in those days Rome had to be reckoned with, and events were constantly occurring like that which is mentioned by Jesus: "What king, as he goeth to encounter another king in war, will not sit down first and take counsel whether he is able with 10,000, to meet him that cometh against him with 20,000; or else, while the other is yet a great way off, he sendeth an ambassage, and asketh conditions of peace."* Later on, however, Hareth, who nourished the feeling of revenge, stirred up a quarrel with Antipas about the frontiers of Gamalitis. The soldiers on their way to this expedition (στρατεύομενοι) may have been those who heard the preaching of St John the Baptist, and received from him the warning against violence and extortion.†

Herod was defeated (B.C. 37) by the treachery of some deserters who were subjects of Philip. Tiberius, however, ordered Vitellius to avenge this defeat, and to send Hareth to Rome alive or dead. He advanced towards Arabia on

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* Luke xiv. 31. † Luke iii. 14.

this mission, with his legions and some auxiliaries. On his march he greatly gratified the Jews by granting their request that he would not carry the idolatrous standards of his army through Judæa, as also by visiting Jerusalem, and offering sacrifices in the Temple at the Passover. But on the fourth day after his arrival he heard that Tiberius (16th March, A.D. 37) was dead, and he made the Jews take an oath of allegiance to his successor, the Emperor Gaius (Caligula).

Meanwhile the adulterous marriage of Herod—one of those which had been denounced in Leviticus (xviii. 16 ; xx. 21) as "an unclean thing"—had disgusted all the members of his family as well as the Jews in general. In defiance of popular opinion, Herodias and her daughter Salome made their abode in the palace of the tetrarch.* Her influence was altogether baneful, for she was of a harder and less impressible nature even than her paramour, in whom weak self-indulgence had not quenched every spark of spiritual feeling.

The mighty and successful mission of John the Baptist was one of the many indications that the Universal Messianic expectation of those days was about really to be fulfilled. Herod, keenly alive to the anomalies of his position, anticipated fresh troubles. It may have been in order to keep his eye upon the multitudes who thronged to the baptism of John that he took up his residence at his palace-castle of Machaerus, on the eastern shore of the Dead Sea. It was built on the side of a ravine between Abarim and Pisgah, and not far from the baths of Calirrhöe. At this place he and his courtiers, "in soft clothing," would be near Ænon and other places where John baptised. And it was probably to this palace that the rough prophet of the wilderness was invited, and unwillingly trod those splendid halls inlaid with precious marbles.† The weak despot was interested in the

* Salome had first wedded her uncle, and now formed this adulterous marriage with his half-brother, though Salome was not childless.

† As to minor details, much must ever remain uncertain. I have not thought it right to weary the reader with minute discussions which

message and personality of the great Forerunner, and to a certain extent "heard him gladly." But when the prophet, utterly fearless of the face of man, plainly and even bluntly rebuked Antipas in his chief infatuation—the guilty passion for Herodias—and said, without the least circumlocution: "It is not lawful for thee to have her," he could not tolerate the rebuke. It was perhaps at the instigation of Herodias that he threw John into one of those horrible subterranean dungeons of which the ruins are still to be seen at Machaerus, with the marks of staples of wood and iron on the walls. By this act of tyranny he both silenced the voice of John against himself, gratified the jealousy of the Pharisees and Sadducees at Jerusalem, and perhaps hoped that he would succeed in quenching the perilous fervour of Messianic enthusiasm.

And this led to yet another crime. Herod's feelings towards John seem to have wavered. Herodias wished to kill him. All her hereditary violence of character was kindled at the thought that this rough-clad prophet of the people—this "voice of one crying in the wilderness"—this man who lived, like the poorest shepherds, on locusts and wild honey, should show not the least fear either of her or of her husband, but should denounce them both as guilty of shameless adultery. But Herod knew that the Baptist was a just and holy man, and "was much perplexed." Within certain limits he was ready "to do many things because of him," and protected him from the fury of his wife.* Moreover, John had made so powerful an impression on the multitude that the tetrarch feared to excite tumults if he put him to death.† Meanwhile he had him safely in his power, and thought that

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can lead to no positive conclusion. It is highly doubtful whether the passage about John the Baptist in Josephus (*Antt.* xviii. 5, 2) is entirely genuine (*see* Keim, ii. 201-206; Reuss, *O. T.*, § 561; Schürer, i., ii. 25; Hausrath, i. 331, etc.). St Luke (iii. 1) dates John's first preaching in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, *i.e.* between August A.D. 28 and 29, but into the intricacies of the difficult chronology it would be fruitless to enter here.

* Mark vi. 19, 20.

† Matt. xiv. 5.

he could do little or no mischief; for Machaerus, perched on the wild precipitous rocks of the Zerka-ma-in, was inaccessible and impregnable, nor was there the least possibility that the prophet could ever be rescued by his followers from the rock-hewn dungeon beneath the splendid banquet halls. But Herod found that

> "Our acts our angels are, or good, or ill,
> Our fatal shadows that walk by us still."

Antipas had already advanced far enough on the path of crime to learn by experience that it leads to narrow places where there is no turning. The Nemesis of his first false steps came upon him at one of the gorgeous banquets for which he and his family were famous. He was keeping his Accession Feast,* and had invited to his palace his lords and chiliarchs and the chief nobles of his kingdom. They met in one of those halls of lustrous marble which the Jewish historian describes, where the huge golden candelabra flashed their light on gilded cornices and bright frescoes and rich services of plate. When the feasting was over, and the subsequent *Kómos*, or "drinking-bout," had begun, Salome, the lovely daughter of Herodias and her former husband, came in and danced before the guests. That any princess should have stooped to this degradation would have seemed revolting to the grave decorum of the Jews; but that she—a princess connected with so many royal ancestors, the grand-daughter

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* Mark vi. 21, γενέσια. It was not the way of the Herods to keep birthdays, but anniversaries of their accession, as we see in rabbinic and other authorities. In the Mishna (Aboda Zara, i. 3) the king's "Genesia" are distinguished from "the day of birth"; but in Jer. (Aboda Zara, i. 39) the word is explained to mean "birthday," and in the Babylonian Talmud again, "the day the king ascended the throne." The proper name, however, for the latter seems to have been "krateseis" (Schürer, i. 11, 2). These accession days were celebrated with such magnificence as even to excite notice at Rome (Pers., *Sat.* v. 180). It would have been more natural and convenient to hold such a festival at the new capital, Tiberias, rather than at the distant and lonely Machaerus. The Evangelist does not mention the place, but we know from Josephus that John was executed at Machaerus.

of Herod the Great, and the lineal descendant of the glorious Maccabees—should thus appear and actually dance before the half-drunken guests of the king, her uncle and father-in-law, gave a shock of inexpressible disgust to all who heard it.* It might never have been publicly known—it might have served the king's purpose of giving a new sensation to the jaded voluptuousness of soldiers and others tainted with the corrupting decadence of two civilisations—but for the ghastly sequel. Thrilled by the exhibition of the infamy to which even the princesses of his own house could sink, the king, with the fumes of wine in his brain, made to the girl, in the presence of his guests, the rash and silly oath that he would give her anything which she asked, even to the half of his kingdom. She consulted her mother. Here was an opportunity for Herodias to sate her murderous vengeance. "Ask," she said, "that the head of that hateful prophet may be given you here and now on a large dish." Herod heard the request with horror. It sobered him; it ran counter to all his strongest convictions. If he had been capable of any courage, it was a request which could well have been disregarded, as not coming within the scope of his oath. But the fear of man, the thirst of applause, the love of popularity, the vanity of power, overbore his better impulses. The executioner (*Speculator*) was despatched to the dungeon; the sword flashed, and, at the request of a shameless girl, at the instigation of a hate-maddened adulteress, through the vain weakness of a guilty princeling, the life of the greatest of those who had been born of women was shorn away! The dish, swimming with blood, on which lay the head which the sword had hewn from the neck, was given to the princess, and she carried the hideous relic to her mother, who gloated over it with all the wrath of a wicked woman's hate. The disciples of John took the headless corpse and buried it, and

* She was still a *Korasion*, "damsel," if she was born in A.D. 10. She was perhaps thirty years younger than her uncle and future husband, Philip the Tetrarch.

thus "in the same mountains in which Israel sought for the grave of her first prophet, was her last entombed."

From that moment Antipas was a haunted man. He could hardly have been unaware that all the subsequent reverses and miseries of his life—among them the defeat of his forces by King Hareth, which I have already mentioned—were attributed to the judgment of God upon his crime. When the rumour reached him of the deeds done by Jesus on the plain of Gennezareth, he was anxious to meet Him, and see some mighty deed done by Him. Probably the desire had its origin in something deeper than a frivolous curiosity. For the murderer of an innocent prophet there lay an awful terror in the Unseen and the Unknown. When the air was full of surmises as to who Jesus was, Herod's guilty conscience at once flew to the conclusion that in Him was the resuscitated spirit of the murdered prophet. "This is John whom I beheaded; he is risen from the dead, and therefore mighty works do show forth themselves in Him."

Afterwards—at least if the message which the plotting Pharisees took to Christ was true—Herod desired to kill Him,* and (as we have seen) they were bidden in return to tell "this fox" that He intended calmly to finish His destined work, regardless of his futile machinations.

Shortly afterwards, at the last great Passover of the Life of Jesus, an opportunity came to Antipas, the greatest and most glorious which could have been given to mortal man. Humanly speaking, he might, and might with ease, have prevented the Crucifixion of the "Son of Man." Pilate, knowing the sternness of the Emperor Tiberius, knowing how fierce were the accusations which the Jews were making against Him, was alarmed by the passionate hatred towards Christ shown by the priests, the Sadducean nobles, and the mob whom they were hounding on to demand the death of

* Luke xiii. 31-32; Keim, iv. 344. Herod would be sure to hear about Jesus from many quarters, and Joanna, the wife of his steward Chuza, was one of the "ministering women" (Luke viii. 3).

Jesus. He saw through the malignity of the Jews; he recognised the majesty and stainless innocence of the accused; he felt that if he yielded to fear and menace he would be acting in defiance of his own conscience and his Roman sense of justice. Hating the Jews from his heart, Pilate probably felt an instinctive sense that Jesus alone was worth the whole multitude of Annases and Caiaphases and priests and yelling fanatics put together. He was ready to catch at any straw to be rid of the whole responsibility. He had no sooner heard that Jesus "belonged to Galilee," and had begun His marvellous teaching there, than he seized the opportunity to send Him to Antipas, as belonging to "Herod's jurisdiction." Antipas, in accordance with the custom of his family, had come to Jerusalem for the Passover, and was living in the older and smaller Asmonæan palace, at no great distance from the Herodian palace, which was now occupied by the Roman Procurator. Pilate, hoping that he would thus be quit of a disagreeable responsibility, sent Jesus, under escort, to the Galilean tetrarch. Herod was pleased with this compliment, and the recognition of his independent power; and all the more because Pilate, who knew his correspondence with the Emperor, was jealous of him, and disliked him. The two could now make friends again out of this bad business. Further, Herod now had the opportunity of seeing Jesus, for which he had longed. Since Christ was thus in his power, he expected that Jesus would gratify his curiosity by showing some sign to him. He sat therefore on his "curule" chair to hear the case. It was an infinitely memorable scene. The life of the Redeemer of the World hung on the decision of this meanest of mankind. Around him were his noble assessors and his chiliarchs; before him, in the lowliness of His meek and awful grandeur, stood the Son of Man and the Son of God. Pressing all around Him was the band of infuriated Scribes and Chief Priests, vehemently accusing Him. He stood there in the majesty of silence, "brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a

sheep before its shearers is dumb, so He openeth not His mouth." But Herod thought that though Jesus might not deign to answer these clamorous incarnations of priestly malignity in their insensate rage, He would perhaps be overawed by a semi-native royalty, surrounded by the pomp of soldiery, and armed with the power of life and death. He therefore pent up for a time the riotous stream of denunciations, while he himself "questioned Jesus in many words." But why should Jesus waste words on him—this alien intruder, this "wily sneak," this double-dyed and incestuous adulterer, this man whose hands were wet with the blood of His kinsman, the last and greatest of the prophets? He answered him nothing. The whole affair was with Herod a mere matter of policy and self-interest, but now he yielded to pique and offended dignity. Who was this Galilean peasant, this "man of the people," that He should not deign to answer a king's questions? Tired of vain interrogations, baffled by a silence more kingly than his own "many words," the patience of the frivolous princeling gave way, and he at once avenged and disgraced himself by handing over Jesus to the coarse mockery of his barbarian bodyguards.* Safe, as he now fancied, from any supernatural retribution, he treated Jesus with elaborate contempt, and tried to make a mockery of Him. So he sent for some of his own cast-off royal apparel, for this Man who was accused of desiring to make Himself a King, and when the soldiers had arrayed Jesus in it, he sent Him back to Pilate, not venturing to declare Him guilty, but with deep policy, and perhaps one little grain of conscience, desiring to indicate that he regarded Him as an impostor, only worthy of disdainful ridicule.

Pontius Pilate, with whom Antipas was reconciled on this occasion, is severely condemned by the Jews. Josephus speaks very unfavourably of him. Agrippa I., quoted by

* Luke xxiii. 11.

Philo, describes him as inflexible, imperious, and implacably harsh. Philo himself charges him with corruptibility, insolence, rapine, insults, violence, incessant murders without even the formality of a trial, and in general with endless and intolerable cruelties.* But his career only touches indirectly on the story of the Herods.

The reign of Antipas was now running to its dregs. When the Emperor Tiberius died during the Passover of the Jews (A.D. 38), his successor, as I shall relate farther on, rewarded the friendship of Agrippa, the half-brother of Antipas, by giving him a diadem, and making him not a mere tetrarch, as Antipas was, but actual king of the territory of Philip the Tetrarch, who had died.

Before A.D. 39 Agrippa made his appearance in Palestine with all the insignia of royalty. Antipas and Herodias felt this keenly. They had married Salome to the aged Philip in the hopes that they might, through her, be the heirs of the tetrarchy. Agrippa had once been a beggarly dependent on their bounty, for when he was in the depths of poverty and debt, Antipas had made him governor of Tiberias, with a pension. It was because Antipas, in one of his bad moods, had been so ungenerous as to taunt him with his depressed circumstances, that Agrippa, in proud disgust, had left Tiberias to seek the protection of Flaccus, the Proconsul of Syria. To Herodias the contrast of Agrippa's success with the inferior splendour of her husband was gall and wormwood, though Agrippa was her own brother, and, like herself, had the blood of the Asmonæans in his veins. It maddened her with envy to see the man who had depended on them for daily bread now pacing proudly as a diademed king among his soldiers, while her husband was a mere uncrowned tetrarch. She therefore goaded and urged and worried her husband, in

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* *Leg. ad Caium*, § 38. See my *Life of Christ*, ii. 360-364. The New Testament retains traces of tumults which were caused by Pilate's imperious recklessness (Luke xiii. 1 ; xxiii. 19 ; Mark xv. 7).

spite of his desire for quiet, and his deep misgivings, to go with her to Rome and beg for a like honour for himself. They went, and were followed by Fortunatus, a freedman of Agrippa, whom he sent to charge Antipas with intended revolt. Agrippa declared that the tetrarch had made a secret league with the Parthians, and had collected arms sufficient for 70,000 men. When the Emperor Gaius questioned Antipas he could not deny the notorious collection of arms. Taking this for a proof of guilt, Gaius stripped him of his wealth and of his tetrarchy—both of which he bestowed on Agrippa—and banished him to Lyons in Gaul (A.D. 39), where he disappears into well-merited oblivion. It was at this crisis that Herodias showed, in her bad life, one touch of pathetic magnanimity. Hearing that she was Agrippa's sister, Gaius restored to her her own possessions, and exempted her from exile; but she, conscious that her envious ambition had been the cause of her husband's ruin, rejected the offer, and chose to follow the fortunes of Antipas into the obscurity of his dreary and miserable banishment. Dion Cassius (lix. 8) says that Caligula put the deposed tetrarch to death; and it is true that this was the mad and wicked Emperor's ordinary method of dealing with exiles.* But some uncertainty hangs over the death of Antipas. Josephus in one place says that he died in exile in Spain; in another—and this is more probable—that he died at Lugdunum in Gaul.†

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* Suet., *Calig.* 28; Philo, in *Flaccum*, § 21; Dion Cassius, lix. 18.

† Josephus, *B. J.*, ii. 9, 6; *Antt.* xviii. 7, 2. This *may* be "Lugdunum Convenarum" (St Bertrand de Comminges) on the borders of Spain, at the foot of the Pyrenees.

CHAPTER XIX.

Herod Agrippa I. (A.D. 37-44).

γενόμενος σκωληκόβρωτος, ἐξέψυξεν.—Acts xii. 23.

The life of Herod Agrippa is a romance, full of sudden and strange reverses of fortune, and singularly illustrative of the chaotic conditions of the age in which he lived. We see him pass at a bound from squalor to splendour, and back again from splendour to squalor; now in the plethora of wealth, now driven to the verge of suicide by abject poverty. We see him in contact with many of the chief cities, and many of the chief personages of his age; now grossly insulted at Alexandria, and now rapturously applauded at Jerusalem; running away at Jamnia from debts which he could not pay, and deciding the whole destiny of the Empire at Rome; contumeliously imprisoned by the Emperor Tiberius at Capreæ, and extravagantly honoured by Gaius Caligula at Rome; acting as a Gentile in the amphitheatre at Berytus, and as a Pharisee in the Temple of Jerusalem; beheading James the Apostle for belief in Christ, and himself saluted as a god at Cæsarea. To narrate all his fortunes at the same length as Josephus has done in his *Antiquities** and *Wars of the Jews*† would require a far larger space than I have at my disposal. I can only glance at the most salient events in his career.

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* Josephus, *Antt.* xviii. 6-9. † *Ibid.*, *B. J.*, ii. 9-11.

Agrippa I. was the son of Aristobulus and Berenice, and grandson of Herod the Great and the Asmonæan Mariamne. He was born B.C. 10. The genealogy in the note will illustrate the complicated intermarriages and indefinable chaos of relationships in the Herodian family.* Agrippa, son of two first cousins, married another cousin, the daughter of his own aunt, who had married her uncle!

When his father Aristobulus had been doomed to death by Herod the Great, Agrippa, like most of the young Herodian princes, was sent to Rome. He was then about six years old. Antonia, wife of the elder Drusus, the brother of Tiberius, was sincerely attached to Berenice, the mother of Agrippa, who was herself a not unworthy matron. Antonia attached the forlorn young prince to her nephew, the younger Drusus, son of the Emperor Tiberius. As long as Berenice survived, Agrippa lived without causing scandal; but at her death he plunged into profusion, and was so much overwhelmed with debts that, on the death of Drusus (A.D. 23), when Tiberius forbade any of his son's friends to enter his presence, that he might not be reminded of his bereavement, Agrippa retired to the village of Malatha in Idumæa, where he seriously contemplated suicide. From this fate he was only rescued by his good wife Cypros. On applying for aid to his sister Herodias, she induced Antipas to give him a pension, and make him governor (*Agoranomos*) of Tiberias. But in one of his drinking bouts Antipas had the coarseness

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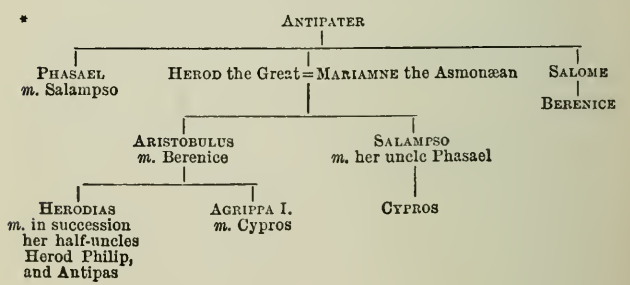

to jeer at Agrippa for his dependence, and the young prince threw up his post, and went to Flaccus, Prefect of Syria, on whom he exercised the singular power possessed by the Herodian family of ingratiating themselves into the favour of powerful Romans. Here, however, he found a rival in his brother Aristobulus, who revealed to Flaccus that Agrippa had accepted a bribe from the people of Damascus to influence Flaccus in their favour in a dispute with the people of Sidon. Agrippa was dismissed in disgrace, but borrowed a large sum from one of his mother's freedmen in order to return to Rome. On his way he was arrested for another large debt by Herennius, the Governor of Jamnia, and after promising to pay it, gave him the slip by night, and escaped to Alexandria. There, on his wife's security, he borrowed another large sum from the Jewish Alabarch, got to Rome, and sent a letter to Tiberius, who was then at Capreæ. Tiberius sent him a gracious invitation, but dismissed him in disgrace to Rome on hearing from Herennius of his escapade at Jamnia (A.D. 36).

At this point Antonia, for Berenice's sake, befriended him, and by enabling him to pay the debt, secured his reintroduction to Capreæ, where the Emperor advised him to attach himself to his young grandson Tiberius. Instead of this, Agrippa, whether from innate shrewdness, or greater affinity of character, paid his court to Gaius Caligula, the Emperor's grand-nephew, son of the virtuous Germanicus and Agrippina the Elder. One day, when riding in a chariot with Gaius, he imprudently expressed the flattering hope that "the old fellow" (Tiberius) might soon die, and Gaius succeed him. This speech, which was a sort of treason against the deified autocrat, was overheard by his freedman Eutychus the charioteer, who being afterwards arrested for theft, said that he had something important to communicate to the Emperor. Tiberius, always dilatory, put off hearing what he had to say till Agrippa himself procured him an audience through Antonia. When Tiberius heard the charge,

he indignantly ordered his Prætorian Prefect Macro "to put that man in chains," pointing contemptuously at Agrippa. Clad as he was in kingly purple, Agrippa was fettered and thrown into prison. It was a burning day, and Agrippa, as he was being led away, asked a slave of Gaius, named Thaumastus, to give him some water to drink from a vessel which he was carrying. Agrippa promised to reward him when he was free from his bonds. He subsequently remembered the promise, procured the emancipation of Thaumastus, and made him his steward. Thaumastus attained to old age, and died in the service of Agrippa II.

Antonia, faithful in her friendships, did what she could to alleviate his misfortunes. As it was dangerous to speak to Tiberius in his favour, she induced Macro to tell his soldiers to treat the prince leniently, to allow him a daily bath and better fare, and to permit the visits of his friends and freedmen. He remained six months in prison, and one day a curious incident is said to have occurred. Agrippa, still in purple and in chains, was leaning against a tree in front of the palace among other fettered prisoners when a screech owl (*bubo*) was seen to be perched on the tree. Observing this, a German augur among the prisoners asked the soldier who was attending him, "Who was that man in purple?" On being informed, he asked leave to speak to him. This was permitted, and he told Agrippa that he should again pass from chains to royalty, from pitiable calamity to envied eminence, but that when he saw the owl again it must be a sign to him that he had only five more days to live. Agrippa only laughed, but the augury proved to be true.

For shortly afterwards, on March 16, A.D. 37, the news came that Tiberius had died. Marsyas, the freedman of Agrippa, entering his prison, said in Hebrew, with a nod, "The lion is dead!" Noticing their joy at the communication, the centurion induced Agrippa to tell him what it was, and then unchained him, and asked him to dine. During

the dinner news came that Tiberius was not yet dead, and the centurion in terror reproached Agrippa for having deceived him, and, throwing him into chains once more, treated him that night with great severity. Next morning, however, the news was confirmed, and, but for Antonia's remonstrances at the unseemliness of such a proceeding, Gaius would have set Agrippa free on the very day of the funeral of Tiberius. He sent the order for his liberation shortly afterwards, summoned him to court, bestowed on him the tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias, with the title of King and the right to wear the diadem, and gave him a golden chain of equal weight to the iron one in which he had been fettered for half a year. The Senate gave him the honorary rank of Prætor.

On his way to take possession of his kingdom Agrippa landed at Alexandria, and in the violently exacerbated state of feeling between the Jews and Greeks in that city—which was now being daily aggravated by the mad ferocity of the Governor Flaccus—he avoided all ostentatious display. The Greeks however, who hated the large and wealthy colony of Jews with all their hearts, were so angry at seeing a Jew wearing a diadem and surrounded by guards in armour which gleamed with gold and silver, that they heaped on Agrippa the deadliest insults. They got hold of a drivelling naked idiot, named Carabas, who was constantly worried by the wanton boys of Alexandria, dressed him up in a mat, a paper crown, and a stick for sceptre, gave him a bodyguard of ragamuffins, with sticks for halberds, addressed him as *Maris*, or "Lord," and openly derided and lampooned the king on the stage.* In Judæa he was well received, and I have already told how the envy of his greatness by his sister Herodias hurried her and her husband to their inglorious doom.

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* A full account of these scenes is given by Philo, in *Flaccum*, §§ 5, 8. See my *Life of St Paul*, i. 251-253.

Soon after this, Agrippa, who had returned to Rome, managed to render the Jews a memorable service. The insanity of Gaius was now developed, and led to a reign of terror horribly illuminated by flashes of grotesqueness. Nothing would now satisfy the mad despot but to be universally worshipped as a god, and he actually ordered Petronius, the Prefect of Syria, to have a gilded Colossus of him erected in the Holy of Holies at Jerusalem. The attempt to enforce the worship of his statues at Alexandria had already caused violent tumults and massacres in that city, and had led to the celebrated embassy of Philo, which Gaius first received with a wickedly sarcastic grin, and then treated with the most contumelious buffoonery. The wretch was now more than ever bent on forcing the blasphemous worship of so debauched a lunatic as himself on the refractory Jews. Petronius announced the order, and the Jews flocked in myriads to Ptolemais, entreating him to rescind it. "How can I possibly disobey the direct commands of my Emperor?" he asked them. "Then you must first slay us," they said, "What?" he asked them, "would you go to war with the Romans?" "No," they replied, "we cannot go to war, but you must kill us all before you can erect the statue," and thereupon they offered their throats to the swords of the soldiers. Meanwhile it was the season for sowing, and all the land remained untilled. At last Aristobulus, the brother of Agrippa, and the venerated elder Helkias went to Petronius, and told him that if he persisted there would be a famine; that the Romans would lose all their revenue; that the Jews would be massacred rather than give way; and that millions of the nation, scattered throughout the world, would then curse the name of Gaius for ever. Petronius was a humane and honourable man. He was struck by the appeal. He summoned the Jews to meet him in the presence of his army, and told them that, at the imminent risk of his own life, he would appeal to the Emperor to withdraw his demand. No sooner had he

announced his decision than, to his deep astonishment, showers of rain—much needed and longed for—began to fall, after a long period of drought, encouraging the Jews to believe that their petition would be successful, and impressing Petronius with the conviction that they were under the peculiar care of God.

Meanwhile at Rome, Gaius, irritated by unwonted opposition, received Agrippa one day with a torrent of invectives against his nation.* The king was so terrified by the madman's wrath, and the peril of his countrymen, that he fainted, and would have fallen, if he had not been caught in the arms of his attendants. He remained more or less unconscious for two days, imagining that he was still in the Emperor's presence. When he recovered he would only take some flour and water, and sat down at once to write a letter to the Emperor. After this he endeavoured to influence him in a more effectual manner, by inviting him to a banquet inconceivably sumptuous. It might have been thought that Roman banquets had long ago exhausted the resources of luxury and ostentation, but Agrippa was heedless of all expense. He so thoroughly pleased the insane Emperor that, in his gratification at the banquet, Gaius said, "In consideration of your long and well-proved friendship, I will grant you anything you ask." Agrippa in reply lauded the superhuman generosity of Gaius, whose gifts to him, if small in comparison with the Emperor's greatness, were far beyond the measure of his own deserts. His friendship, he said, had always been entirely disinterested, and had not been simulated out of desire of gain. Gaius thought that the king would have asked for large accessions of territory or wealth, and, pleased with his moderation, still insisted that he should claim some boon. Then Agrippa, not without that redeeming touch of nobleness which the Herods

* I have combined the story given by Philo in his *Legatio ad Gaium* with that told by Josephus. Agrippa met Caligula in Rome or Puteoli in the autumn of A.D. 40.

occasionally showed amid the chaos of their vices, begged Gaius to desist from enforcing the consecration of his statue in the Holy of Holies. To make such a request was, as he well knew, terribly dangerous. Gaius, however, was graciously pleased to grant the petition, though he was afterwards furious with Petronius for his delay, and threatened him on the charge that he had preferred the bribes of the Jews to obedience to his Emperor. But by the time that this letter reached Petronius, the hideous portent of diseased humanity whom the world was worshipping as a god met his doom by the avenging dagger of the tribune Chærea, whom he had wantonly insulted.*

And now once more it was the destiny of Agrippa to play a *rôle* of immense importance in the history of the world. The murder of Gaius flung the German guards into a tumult. They rushed through the palace, despatched three of the conspirators, and with drawn swords surrounded the theatre in which the populace was assembled, filling them with the wildest alarm. The Senate was summoned, and many of the Senators were in favour of restoring the Republic. But as the Germans raged through the palace, one of them, a soldier named Gratus, had come upon Claudius, the son of Drusus the Elder, and the uncle of Gaius. The half-dazed prince was hiding himself in a dark place, and, according to one story, the soldier seeing a pair of feet protruding from under a curtain, pulled him out. Then with a burst of laughter—for Claudius was a common jest—he exclaimed: "Why, here is Germanicus! let us make him Emperor." Claudius, in abject terror of his life, was only anxious to be left alone, but Agrippa, who meanwhile had embraced and laid out the body of Gaius, came to him, and entreated him to accept the

* The order to erect Caligula's statue in the Temple seems to have been given to Petronius in the winter of A.D. 40. Petronius corresponded with the Emperor, and put off the decision till the end of September, when Agrippa secured the rescinding of the order. In January Caligula ordered Petronius to commit suicide, and was himself murdered on January 24th, A.D. 41.

dignity. The Senate, hearing that Agrippa had seen Claudius, sent for him, and he anointed his head and came to them. With oriental subtleness he professed to fall in with their plans, but told them that they would require an army and money, for that the soldiers would certainly fight for Claudius. He showed them how futile was their plan of arming the slaves against the veterans, and advised them to send ambassadors to Claudius—of whom he himself offered to be one—requesting him to refuse the diadem. They accepted his proposal, and he privately informed Claudius that the Senators were timid and wavering, and advised him to send them a mandate to accept his rule, while at the same time he promised them a mild and equitable Government. The plan succeeded. The army declared unreservedly for Claudius, and Agrippa succeeded in rendering him one more memorable service by warning him to protect the dignity and the lives of the terrified Senators from the rude violence of the Prætorians. Thus it was mainly and practically due to the presence of mind, the ability, the resourceful and courageous diplomacy of the Jewish king that Rome was saved from a massacre, and the Senate from extermination. To him more than any man Claudius owed his succession to the heritage of the Cæsars, the Empire of the world.

Claudius in his gratitude published edicts in favour of the Jews, at the request of Agrippa, and augmented the king's dominions by the addition of Judæa, Samaria, and Abylene; so that he was now king of a domain as extensive as that of his grandfather. He also nominated his brother Herod King of Chalcis. Claudius then made a formal treaty with Agrippa in the Forum, and inscribed on a tablet a warm eulogy upon him, together with the decree by which he had augmented his kingdom.

Agrippa hurried back in all his splendour to his enlarged dominions. It was now his one object to enlist in his favour the enthusiasm of the Pharisees, by acting in nearly all respects as a zealous Jew. It was partly no doubt to

increase such popularity that (B.C. 44) "to please the Jews," he seized and executed the Apostle James, who was the Bishop of the little community at Jerusalem,* and then imprisoned the Apostle Peter as their most prominent leader. The deliverance of Peter from the prison by night saved him from the execution which Agrippa had designed for him after the Passover, and the king had to content himself with putting his warders to death. He delighted the Jews by great sacrifices in the Temple; by discharging the expenses of many Nazarites; by abating the heavy incidence of taxation; and by hanging up in the Treasury, as a memorial of his changed fortunes, the chain of solid gold which Gaius had given him. He also pleased them by turning into a side street with his escort in order to make room for a bridal procession, and by other instances of legal scrupulosity. He offered a thank-offering, "because he would not neglect any precept of the Law."† The golden days of Pharisaism returned;—for Agrippa, as Josephus says, lived at Jerusalem, kept himself entirely pure, and offered every day his appointed sacrifice.‡ The Mishna records with admiration that he paid his first-fruits with his own hand, like any other Israelite, taking his basket on his shoulder.§ When he betrothed his daughter Drusilla to Epiphanes of Commagene, it was on condition that he should accept circumcision. The rabbis relate how once, on the eighth day of the Feast of Tabernacles (A.D. 40), when in the *Parashah*, or Lesson from the Law, occurred the verse, "Thou shalt set him king over thee whom the Lord thy God shall choose. Thou mayest not set a stranger over thee which is not thy brother,"‖

* Acts xii. 2. The Jewish historian Jost throws doubt on this story because of Agrippa's humanity. But the man who, to please himself, arranged a brutal gladiatorial massacre at Berytus, would hardly hesitate to put to death a humble Christian to please the Jews at Jerusalem.

† Deut. xvii. 15.

‡ Josephus, *Antt.* xix. 7, 3.

§ Bikkurim, iii. 4.

‖ Deut. xxxi.

Agrippa, thinking of his Idumæan origin, burst into tears; but the Jews, not forgetting that the Asmonæan blood also ran in his veins, cried out to him, "Fear not, Agrippa; thou art our brother." *

He was somewhat troubled by Silas, whom, in reward for long and faithful friendship, he had made Master of his Horse. Silas not only assumed a familiarity towards him which was unbecoming now that Agrippa was a king, but incessantly and obtrusively reminded him how loyal and faithful and useful he had been to him during his misfortunes. When this line of conduct became quite intolerable, Agrippa at last stripped him of his wealth and sent him to prison. Even then, however, he forgave Silas, and one day summoned him to dinner; but as Silas refused to be forgiven, and indulged in invectives even to the king's messengers, Agrippa saw that he was "incurable in his folly," and left him to his fate. Herod, King of Chalcis and Helkias, the king's friend, ordered his execution when they heard of Agrippa's death.

He showed extraordinary mildness to a leading Pharisee named Simon, who had publicly and insolently inveighed against him to his followers, charging him with violations of the Law, and saying that as an alien, and no Jew, he ought to be excluded from the Temple. Agrippa, who was then at Cæsarea, sent for him, and happening to be in the theatre, summoned him there, placed him on a seat by his side, and at the conclusion of the entertainment mildly asked him whether he had seen anything there which was contrary to the Law? Simon, touched by his magnanimity, begged his pardon, and was dismissed with a small present.

Yet this very mild king had so thoroughly imbibed the perverted tastes of the Romans—a nation "cruel, by their sports to blood inured"—that at Berytus, which after the

* Sota, vii. 8. When Idumæans adopted Judaism, their descendants in the third generation were regarded as Jews (Deut. xxiii. 8, 9).

fashion of his family he had enriched with a theatre, an amphitheatre, and other heathen structures, he ventured to exhibit a gladiatorial show, in which 700 malefactors were hacked to death before the eyes of the multitude by 700 gladiators.

Agrippa, during his short reign of three years over all Palestine, was made to feel more than once that, however popular he might be with his own people, the Romans were still his masters. He resided mainly at Jerusalem, and was refortifying it by building massive walls which would have made it impregnable, when his proceedings awoke the suspicions of Marsus Vibius, the Prefect of Syria, and he received an order to desist. He had soon after to submit to a still keener humiliation. Hereditarily fond of ostentation, he had invited the Kings of Commagene, Pontus Emesa, Lesser Armenia, and his brother Herod, King of Chalcis, to be his guests at Tiberias, where he entertained them with royal spectacles and hospitalities. While this was going on, Marsus came to Tiberias, and Agrippa went out seven furlongs to meet him, with the other five kings in his chariot. Marsus looked unfavourably at all this popularity, and display, and alliance with other kings, and, to the intense anger of Agrippa, sent some of his followers to each of the kings with the order that they were at once, and quietly, to betake themselves homewards.

He was now (A.D. 44) fifty-four years of age, and it was seven years since Gaius had first given him the title of a king. He had been displeased by the Tyrians, and, as their country depended upon Judæa for its supplies, they secured the good offices of Blastus, the king's chamberlain. Agrippa met their deputies at some magnificent games which he was celebrating at Cæsarea, to offer vows for the prosperity of Claudius. At early morning the king entered the theatre with his diadem, clad in superb array, and with all the pomp of his royal escort. As he rose to harangue the multitude,

the rising sun gleamed on his robe of tissued silver,* and seemed to clothe him in a blaze of supernatural glory. The abject sycophants shouted out that "it was the voice of a god, and not of a man." He accepted with gratified vanity this blasphemous adulation, but, happening to raise his eyes, he saw, sitting on a rope above him, the owl, which he had first seen when he was in chains at Rome.† Recalling the prophecy of the German augur, he exclaimed: "Alas! I whom you call a god am a doomed man." He was carried back to his palace, smitten with a severe internal disease. The multitudes, by whom he was beloved, wept and wailed and prayed for him, and he himself could not refrain from weeping when, from the window of his lofty chamber, he saw them prostrate in the dust entreating God for him. He consoled his friends with the thought that he had not lived ill, but splendidly and happily. On the fifth day he was dead.

An incident occurred after his death which became the seed of infinite mischief. At Cæsarea and at Sebaste the numerous Greek factions were very hostile to him, because of his marked Jewish proclivities.‡ At his death they not only broke out into indecent manifestations of joy, crowning themselves with garlands, holding banquets, and pouring libations to Charon, but the coarse and licentious soldiers heaped the grossest insults on him and his whole family, and tearing down the statues of his daughters from his palace, subjected them to brutal outrage. For this misconduct

* Josephus, *Antt.* xix. 8, 2; Acts xii. 21.

† Eusebius (*H. E.*, ii. 10) tells the story, but transforms the owl into an angel. St Luke says he died "eaten of worms"; Josephus, "of a disease of the bowels." St Luke says he saw an angel, and Josephus calls the owl "a messenger (*angelos*) of evil."

‡ Yet it was only in Judæa that Agrippa was a strict Jew. He allowed statues of his daughters to be erected at Sebaste; stamped images of himself and of the Emperor on his extra-Judæan coins; held gladiatorial games at Berytus; and allowed himself to be entitled *Philokaisar* and *Philoromaios*. When he was at safe distance from the Pharisees, he, like the rest of the Herods, was "a liberal latitudinarian."

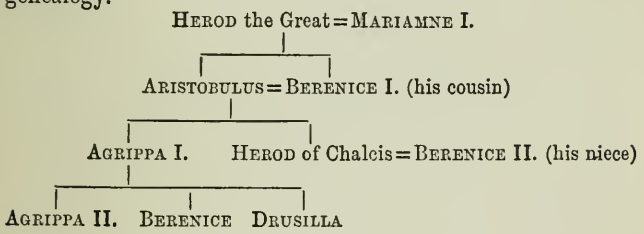
Claudius ordered Marsus to remove all the soldiers from Cæsarea and Sebaste, and send them to serve in Pontus. They sent a deputation to the Emperor, pleading to be forgiven, and the sentence was remitted. They were left at their present stations, smarting under the disgrace of the Emperor's displeasure. Their malicious hatred became one ultimate cause of the Jewish War, with all its horrors, which ended in the final obliteration of the Jews as a separate nation from the face of the earth.

Agrippa died at the age of fifty-four, and left four children —one son, afterwards Agrippa II., who was then seventeen years of age, and three daughters—Mariamne, Berenice, and Drusilla. Berenice was married first to her uncle, Herod, King of Chalcis, and then to Polemo, King of Pontus. Drusilla was married first to Aziz, King of Emesa, then to the Procurator Claudius Felix.

CHAPTER XX.

Herod of Chalcis.

Of this prince very little is recorded. His place in the family will be sufficiently seen by this fragment of the genealogy.



In A.D. 41 Claudius, in order to do a favour to Agrippa, gave to Herod the little kingdom of Chalcis, and in A.D. 44 the government of the Temple and the right of nominating the High Priest, of which he very fully availed himself. He died A.D. 48. Nothing more is known about him.

Agrippa II. (A.D. 50-100).*

The Emperor Claudius felt inclined at first to give the kingdom of Judæa to the only son of his friend Marcus

* It is not certain at what date Agrippa really began to exercise royal functions. Even before he succeeded to the throne, he made himself useful to the Jews by interceding for them with the Emperor. On the death of Herod of Chalcis (A.D. 48) Claudius transferred to Agrippa the government of the Temple, and the right of appointing the High Priest. Berenice, who had been the wife of the King of Chalcis, came and lived in the house of her brother.

Julius Agrippa I. But the young Agrippa was then only seventeen years old, and Claudius was persuaded by his all-powerful freedmen, Narcissus and Pallas, that a youth could never sway the destinies of a great and much-harassed kingdom. Cassius Longinus was therefore sent as Prefect to Syria, and Cuspius Fadus was appointed Procurator of Palestine, while the young Agrippa lived in retirement.

Cuspius Fadus at first ruled with vigour, but he soon caused deep offence by demanding that the custody of the High Priests' robes, which had been restored to the Jews, should again be given to the Romans. When Hyrcanus II. was High Priest he used to keep these costly vestments, with the jewelled breastplate, in the Asmonæan castle of Baris adjoining the Temple. When Herod the Great transformed the Baris into the castle of Antonia they still remained there in the king's custody. By some oversight, they were not removed when the castle was handed over to the Roman garrison. This was a serious matter, for the Romans might, by withholding the robes, impede at any time the due performance of the hierarchical functions. Vitellius therefore (B.C. 38) had caused great satisfaction by handing over the robes to the High Priest to be kept in the Temple Treasury. Cassius Longinus now came with his army to Jerusalem to enforce upon the Jews the surrender of these robes, but the young Agrippa rendered his first service to his countrymen by persuading the Emperor Claudius to relinquish the demand by a sort of compromise. The custody of the Temple, and of the robes was given to Herod, King of Chalcis, together with the right to nominate the High Priest. He exercised this right by deposing Simon Kantheras, and elevating Joseph, the son of Camus (A.D. 45).

It was during the Procuratorship of Fadus, at an epoch often afflicted by long droughts, that the famine occurred which is mentioned in Acts xi. 28. It was at this time that the royal family of Adiabene became so prominent in Palestine by their immense benefactions. King Izates, and

his brother and successor Monobazus, became proselytes to Judaism, and even endangered their throne by accepting circumcision. Their mother Helena had long been a convert, and often resided at Jerusalem where she and Izates were buried in the "Tombs of the Kings" at the north of Jerusalem.

Fadus put down a Messianic impostor whom Josephus calls Theudas, and scattered his followers.* He was succeeded in the Procuratorship by Tiberius Alexander, an apostate Alexandrian Jew, nephew of the great Philo, who crucified Jacob and Simon, two sons of Judas the Gaulonite, and grandsons of the robber chief Hezekiah, whom Herod the Great had executed.

When Herod, King of Chalcis, died (A.D. 48), Claudius promoted Agrippa II. to his vacant kingdom (A.D. 50), and also made him Keeper of the Temple. Ventidius Cumanus succeeded Tiberius Alexander as Procurator, and found Palestine in a state of tumult, caused by the exasperation of incessant quarrels between Jews, Gentiles, and Samaritans. At the Passover of A.D. 48 a soldier indecently exposed himself on the walls of Castle Antonia in the presence of the worshippers. As Cumanus failed to punish him for this obscene insult, the young zealots attacked the soldiery with stones. A riot ensued, and as the Jews rushed out of the Temple in terror of the Roman soldiers, more than 10,000 were crushed and trampled to death.

Then Stephanus, a servant of the Emperor, was robbed and murdered at Beth Horon, near Jerusalem, and to punish this offence the soldiers plundered the villages. While they were thus engaged, one of the soldiers horrified the Jews by tearing to shreds a copy of the Pentateuch, with blasphemous insults. This insult kindled the Jews to so fierce a fury that Cumanus was forced to have the soldier beheaded. Then the turbulent Samaritans of En-Gannim—the frontier village

* But *comp.* Acts v. 36.

which had refused to permit Jesus to pass through it on His way to Jerusalem—murdered a Galilean Jew on his way to the Passover; and since Cumanus, bribed by the Samaritans, would not listen to the complaints of the Galileans, they took arms and avenged themselves, and had to be suppressed by the Romans. The Chief Priests and principal Jews, clad in sackcloth and ashes, barely succeeded in preventing an open revolt, and the new Prefect of Syria, Ummidius Quadratus, tried to hold the balance of justice between the contending factions. Agrippa was now at Rome, and exerted himself with Claudius on behalf of his countrymen, with the result that three leading Samaritans were executed, Cumanus exiled, and his tribune Celer sent back to Jerusalem to be dragged through the streets, and then beheaded.

In A.D. 52 Claudius bestowed on Agrippa II. the title of King (which we find in Acts xxvi. 2, 7, etc.) and gave him the old tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias. To these Nero afterwards added several cities.

In A.D. 52 Claudius appointed Felix, once a slave, now a freedman,—brother of his freedman, favourite, and practical ruler, the wealthy Pallas—to be Procurator of Judæa. In making this appointment he is said to have been influenced by the High Priest Jonathan, as well as by Pallas. Felix remained Procurator for some years, and showed how licentious and how tyrannous could be the autocracy of a slave who had been promoted to power.* Thinking himself secure in the protection of his brother, who exercised over the feeble-minded Emperor an almost absolute control, his only objects were to satisfy his lust and greed. Slave as he had been, he became the husband of three queens in succession. The third was Drusilla, sister of Agrippa, whom, with the aid of an impostor named Simon—supposed by some to have

* The character given of him by Tacitus agrees with that in Josephus and the Acts: "Per omnem saevitiam ac libidinem jus regium servili ingenio exercuerat" (*Hist.* v. 9). As a brother of Pallas, he thought he could do what he liked.—Tac., *Ann.* xii. 54.

been Simon Magus—he had induced to abandon her religion, and her husband Aziz, King of Emesa.* She, as well as her son by Felix, are said to have perished in the eruption of Vesuvius in the reign of Titus.†

The rule of Agrippa II. became an extensive one when Claudius gave him the former tetrarchy of his uncle Philip; but he was little more than nominally king. The whole of Palestine was in a truly frightful condition; it teemed with jugglers, brigands, fanatics, and false Messiahs, and had become a prey to murder and rapine.

An Egyptian impostor led a vast multitude into the desert of Quarantania, promising that they should be delivered from the Romans by miracles (Acts xxi. 38). They were pursued and cut to pieces by the soldiers of Felix, who, as Tacitus says, kindled new crimes by his ill-judged remedies.

Even in Rome the Jews were so agitated by Messianic excitement that Claudius had to pass a decree to banish them from Rome. We now first meet with the ominous name *Sicarii*,‡ so called from the short dagger (*Sica*) which they concealed under their robes, and unscrupulously used, openly and in secret, to get rid of their own enemies. These wretches, like the Italian bravoes of the Middle Ages, were always ready to sell their services as assassins to the highest bidder, and Felix infamously availed himself of their assistance. Nominally they were zealots for the Law, the remnants of the party of the nationalist brigand Judas the Gaulonite. They pleaded the precepts of the Law, the injunctions to exterminating wars and to the infliction of death on idolaters, as an excuse for the indiscriminate murders which they inflicted as greedy desperadoes. Although Felix owed his promotion, at least in part, to the good-will of the High Priest Jonathan, he had now grown tired of his advice and

* Suet., *Claud.* 28: "Trium reginarum maritus."

† Josephus, *Antt.* xx. 7, 2. But Drusilla is not meant to be described, but her son's wife.

‡ Mentioned in Acts xxi. 38.

exhortations, and seeing no other way to get rid of them, bribed his friend Doras to betray the Pontiff to assassins. A party of Sicarii, who had been admitted into the Temple, mingled with the immediate attendants of Jonathan during the sacrifice, and murdered him, leaving the Temple to be defiled with his blood, as his corpse lay on the sacred pavement. After this it became dangerous for any person opposed to the Sicarii to worship in the Temple, for at any moment their daggers might be plunged into his breast. "God," says Josephus, "could no longer tolerate a sanctuary so hideously polluted." From this time began the portents which indicated that He had abandoned His blood-stained people and His desecrated shrine. The priests might well imagine that they saw the vast brazen gate of the Temple open of its own accord, and that they heard the voices of departing deities saying one to another in awful tones, "Μεταβαίνωμεν ἐντεῦθεν" ("Let us depart hence").

For, from this time more especially, the priests themselves became thoroughly contaminated by the prevalent greed, dissoluteness, and sanguinary ferocity. The house of Annas was specially unpopular, and the Talmud is full of complaints of the priestly caste, of which the higher members ruthlessly beat, oppressed, and starved the humbler representatives of the sons of Aaron. They sent their armed bodies of servants to extort by violence their legal or illegal dues. After the murder of Jonathan, the former High Priest Ananias, son of Nabid, seems to have exercised a sort of spurious authority as President of the Sanhedrin (Acts xxiii.). He it was who incurred the scathing rebuke of St Paul, when the High Priest, in insolent defiance of Justice, ordered his myrmidon to smite the Apostle on the mouth. "God shall smite thee, thou whited wall," he indignantly exclaimed; "sittest thou there to judge me after the Law, and commandest me to be smitten contrary to the Law?" He apologised for this outbreak of natural indignation by saying that he wist not that this *was* God's High Priest. The reply had in it

an unconscious, if not an intentional irony; for, at this time, the succession of titular High Priests of a few opulent Sadducean families was so rapid that even a Jew, not living at Jerusalem, might well fail to remember which was which. About this time (A.D. 60) Agrippa appointed Ishmael ben Phabi to the vacant Hierarchate. He does not seem to have borne a better religious character than his predecessors. The High Priests violently seized their tithes from the threshing-floors, and their servants beat those who dared to withstand them. As a class they sank so low in their fierce rivalry that, on one occasion, there was an open fight in the street between the adherents of Jesus, son of Damnai, and his appointed successor, Jesus, son of Gamaliel.*

It was during the Procuratorship of Felix that St Paul was tried on false charges at Jerusalem, as is narrated in the Acts of the Apostles. The brief and vivid story furnishes a powerful incidental illustration of the electric condition of excitement in Jerusalem, where the most trivial incident, especially during one of the annual festivals, might on any day create a terrific explosion. The quickness of Paul's nephew saved the great Apostle from the daggers of the Sicarii, who, apparently with the cognisance and approval of the villainous Sadducean priests, had bound themselves by the "cherem" to eat no food until they had accomplished his assassination. Then he was removed by night to Cæsarea, and had frequent interviews with Felix and his wife Drusilla. While he reasoned of temperance, righteousness, and the judgment to come, Felix, becoming terrified, put him off to "a more convenient season." This dilatoriness in deciding the case was perhaps partly due to the influence used in Paul's favour by Claudius Lysias and others; but Felix also cherished the base desire for a bribe, which the Apostle would not give even if he could. Felix did not, however, abandon him to the wrath of the High Priest Ananias and his assessors

* Josephus, *Antt.* xx. 9, 4.

of the Sanhedrin, who had hired the orator Tertullus to accuse him.*

When Felix was recalled to Rome, and had to face an accusation from the Jews of Cæsarea, he ought in common justice to have set St Paul free, convinced as he was of his innocence. But he desired to curry favour with the Jews, and, as he got no bribe, he left him bound. He only escaped condemnation by the influence of his brother Pallas. His successor Porcius Festus (A.D. 60) was an able and upright ruler, but he found the country in a yet more awful state, if possible, than Felix had done. He resolutely suppressed whole swarms of brigands and impostors, and gave a breathing space of partial peace to the afflicted inhabitants. But the permanent condition of affairs had been rendered even more difficult than before, because the Greeks of Cæsarea had induced Nero, the new Emperor, to grant them the government of Cæsarea and rights of equal citizenship with the Jews. Nero, after the murder of Claudius by his wife, the younger Agrippina, had succeeded to the throne in A.D. 55, and the Cæsarean Greeks had bribed Burrhus (who with Seneca had been Nero's tutor) to use his influence in their favour. The furious jealousy which had hitherto raged between the Greek Syrian Gentiles and Jews was now exacerbated. The Jews, who were the more wealthy section of the citizens, argued that Cæsarea was their own city, as its predecessor Strato's Tower had been; that it stood in their own country, and had been built by Herod, their own king. The Greek Syrians argued that it was essentially a Gentile city; that it was adorned on all sides with Gentile images; that it used Gentile coins, and was filled with heathen temples and places of amusement. Moreover, it

* It was while St Paul was in prison at Cæsarea (about A.D. 60) that there occurred a frightful outbreak of rage between the Jews and Syrians, on the question of isopolity, which is mentioned in the next paragraph. The Apostle must have heard the yells, and the clash of battle from his cell.

was used by the Roman Procurator as his residence, and was a place where the heathen insignia of the army were openly displayed. While such passions were raging the atmosphere could not but be inflammable, and the results, as we shall see, were fatal to Judæa.

Agrippa was now inseparable from his sister Berenice. After the death of her first husband Herod, King of Chalcis, she had deserted her second husband Polemo, King of Pontus, and was a permanent inmate in Agrippa's palace—not without grave suspicion as to the relations between them.* The king and his sister set out from Jerusalem with great pomp to meet and congratulate Festus, the new Procurator (A.D. 60).† Almost the first case which had come under the judgment of Festus was that of St Paul, whom Ananias and his Sanhedrists had vehemently accused to him on his visit to Jerusalem. He commanded them to bring their case before him at Cæsarea, and St Paul, refusing to put himself again into the clutches of priests who utilised assassins, appealed to Cæsar. During Agrippa's visit Festus told him the story of his distinguished and eloquent prisoner, and Agrippa said he should like to hear him. Accordingly, the next day, before the Procurator, the king, Queen Berenice, and a splendid assembly, Paul once more pleaded his cause with such force that Agrippa made the memorable remark—no doubt half ironical, yet still showing that an impression had been made upon his mind—"You would convert me to Christianity in an epitome!"‡ to which St Paul, with ready tact and fervour, answered, "Whether in an epitome or at large, I would to God that thou, and all who hear me, were as I am, save" (he added, with pathetic dignity) "save these bonds!"

Agrippa now made a mistake which deeply offended his

* Josephus, *Antt.* xx. 7, 3; Juv., *Sat.* vi. 155.

† Acts xxv. 13, 23. Agrippa was known to Festus already (Josephus, *Antt.* xx. 8, 11).

‡ Acts xxvi. 28. The meaning of the words depends very much on the *tone* in which they were uttered; but Agrippa, like the rest of his family, was a latitudinarian, and dismissed the subject from his mind.

susceptible countrymen. Fond of building, like all the Herods, he reared a lofty chamber in the Asmonæan palace, from which, as he lay on his couch, or banqueted among his guests, he could command an undisturbed view of the Temple Courts, and all their festivals, ceremonies, and sacrifices. The priests resented this turning of their worship into a spectacle. They ran up a wall between the Temple and the palace, which not only blocked out the view of Agrippa but prevented the Romans from seeing what was going on from the western portico. Agrippa and Festus ordered them to demolish this wall, but they would not do so till they had appealed to Nero. The High Priest Ishmael ben Phabi, with Helkias and ten deputies, went to Rome on this message. Owing to the influence of Poppaea, whom Josephus claims as a secret proselyte,* they gained their cause, but were detained in Rome as hostages. In Ishmael's place Agrippa appointed Joseph Cabi, son of Simon.

In A.D. 63, to the irreparable loss of Judæa, Festus died, and the rapacious Albinus was appointed in his stead. Agrippa also deposed Joseph Cabi, and made Ananias, the fifth son of the Annas of the Gospels, High Priest in his room. Annas, like the rest of his "serpent" house, as the Talmud designates them, was one of the Sadducean sect who were notorious for their stern cruelty. Taking advantage of the interval before the arrival of Albinus (A.D. 64), he seized James, the Lord's brother, Bishop of Jerusalem, and had him stoned to death with other Christians.† Even the Jews were indignant at this tyrannous harshness to one whom they regarded as a mistaken saint. They complained both to the king and the new Procurator. The consequence was

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* Θεοσεβής.

† A.D. 62; but the date must be doubtful, for the death of James is connected immediately with the advance of Vespasian in Euseb. (*H. E.*, iii. 11, 1), Clement of Alexandria, and Epiphanius (*Hær.* 78, 14), who borrows from the famous account of Hegesippus. The passage in Josephus (*Antt.* xx. 9) *may* be a Christian interpolation.

that, after a brief rule of only two months, Ananias had to give place to Jesus, son of Damnai, who was speedily replaced by Jesus, son of Gamaliel, and he again, in A.D. 65, by Mattathias, son of Theophilus, the last legitimate High Priest. The wealthy Ananias, son of Nabid, was still employing his Sicarii and continuing his nefarious intrigues; and this, added to the violently unscrupulous factions of the other rival priests, made Jerusalem a perfect hell. Albinus made things still worse by setting free any of the Sicarii who would bribe him with ransoms sufficiently large. The assassins found it specially profitable to seize relatives of Ananias, and put them to ransom. They openly seized, in broad day, his son Eleazar, who was Captain of the Levitic bodyguard in the Temple, and would only release him in return for the release of ten of their confederates, which Ananias, probably by bribes, secured from the Procurator. In A.D. 64 the Temple was finally completed,* and its functions became more externally striking by Agrippa's permission to the Levites and singers to wear white linen robes. It was a brief glory. On August 10, A.D. 70, not six years afterwards, that Temple, in its final consummate splendour, "the joy of the whole earth," was destroyed for ever. It was calcined to ashes by flames which were sometimes almost quenched in the blood of its slaughtered defenders.

As there was no more building to be done in the sacred precincts, two sources of apprehension rose in the minds of the more thoughtful Jews. They dreaded lest danger should arise from the 18,000 workmen who would now be turned adrift without employment; and they were afraid that, with the cessation of this drain on the resources of the nation, the streams of unnumbered offerings from Jews all over the world, which perpetually flowed into the Temple treasury,

* Agrippa procured masses of cedar-wood from Lebanon to support its foundations, and raise it higher; but they were never used, except to make engines of war during the siege.

would cause such an accumulation of wealth as to tempt the cupidity of their Roman masters.

Agrippa declined to employ the workmen on adding fresh height and magnificence to the eastern portico, but he allowed them to be engaged to pave the city with white stone. He already foresaw that Jerusalem was doomed, and was embellishing Cæsarea Philippi (Paneas) and Berytus as the chief places of his future residence.

And now the end was drawing near. Albinus was succeeded in the Procuratorship by the execrable Gessius Florus, whose tyranny was so unblushing and abominable, that, in comparison with him, even Albinus seemed moderate and merciful. His wife Cleopatra was a friend of the Empress Poppaea, and this rendered Florus practically independent of the Syrian Prefect Cestius Gallus, and secured him an immunity for every enormity. It was the diabolical purpose of this wretch to goad the Jews into rebellion, and so to secure for himself unlimited opportunities for general plunder, and specially for the spoliation of the Temple with its fabulous wealth. The patience of the Jews had sustained them under the tyranny even of a Felix and an Albinus; it broke down under the accumulated wrongs daily heaped upon them by the black despotism of Gessius Florus. This worst of all the rulers was appointed in A.D. 64. The burning of Rome by Nero (A.D. 65), and the fact that the blame of it was thrown on the Jews, and on the Christians who were scarcely distinguished from them, made the whole race more and more odious in the eyes of the Romans, and prepared the way for their national extinction.

CHAPTER XXI.

The Final Catastrophe.

"Behold your house is left unto you desolate."—Matt. xxiii. 38.

When the Prefect Cestius came to Jerusalem the whole Jewish population assembled to pour their bitter complaints into his ears; but how ineffectual they were likely to be was proved by the fact that Florus stood by his side, laughing and jeering. Cestius promised to try to induce Florus to exercise milder government, but he returned to Antioch and did nothing. On the occasion of this visit, he tried roughly to estimate the numbers of the nation by bidding the Jews count the lambs offered at the Passover, and by allowing ten Jews for each lamb. The priests counted 255,600 lambs, so that it was reckoned that there must be at least 3,000,000 Jews.

In A.D. 66 the Jewish War broke out.

It began at Cæsarea. The Syrian Greeks in that city did everything in their power to insult the Jews. They all but blocked up the entrance to the chief synagogue by buildings erected in its immediate vicinity, and Florus, while he calmly pocketed the immense bribe of eight talents given him by John the tax-gatherer to secure his interference, went away to Sebaste and did nothing. Collisions daily occurred between the wanton Greeks and the hot-headed young Jews. One Sabbath Day a Greek placed an earthen pan near the entrance of the Synagogue, and ostentatiously sacrificed

small birds on the bottom of it. This was intended as a mockery of the Jewish rites for the purification of a leper, and was understood as a contumelious reference to the Pagan scandal that the nation had been driven out of Egypt as a nation of lepers. John went with the chief Jews to implore the interference of Florus; but in spite of the huge bribe which he had received, the Procurator simply threw them into prison. Berenice was in Jerusalem keeping a Nazarite vow. She and the principal Jews sent an embassy to Cestius to complain of the iniquities of the Procurator. Horrified at the massacres and tortures of her countrymen, she herself, in all her beauty and misery, went before the brutal Florus with dishevelled tresses and naked feet to offer her weeping intercession. He heeded her so little that even in her presence Jews were scourged and murdered. She fled back to her palace, and even there she felt that her scanty bodyguard was so insufficient for her personal protection that she lived in the most intense alarm, her heart torn by pity for the monstrous wrongs and cruelties which she was compelled to witness and was impotent to restrain. Cestius decided to visit Jerusalem, and sent before him the centurion Neapolitanus. Agrippa met Neapolitanus at Jamnia, and they proceeded on their way together. The air was full of portents and horrid rumours. A comet like a red sword hung over Jerusalem for a year. At the Passover a sudden supernatural glory filled the Temple at the dead of night. The city at the hour of sunset had been terrified by

> "Fierce fiery warriors, fighting in the sky
> In rank and squadron and right form of war,"

and it seemed as if the walls had been encompassed by chariots and horses of fire, clashing together in terrible conflict. The voice of Jesus, the son of Ananias, a melancholy maniac, rang through the city again and again for years at all hours with the monotonous cry,—which was

never intermitted, though first the Jews and then the Romans had him scourged till his bones were visible—"Woe, woe to Jerusalem!" His first cry had been raised in the Temple. He exclaimed: "A voice from the East! A voice from the West! A voice from the four winds! A voice against Jerusalem and the Temple! A voice against the bridegroom and the bride! A voice against the whole people!" After this he spoke no word to any one, and spent his days in repeating in his deep, hollow, awful voice: "Woe, woe to Jerusalem!" till one day, during the siege, he cried, "Woe, woe to me also!" and was struck dead by a stone from a Roman balista.

Agrippa and Neapolitanus were met by a heart-breaking procession of the people, preceded by the wives and children of those whom Florus had massacred. They rent the air with their shrieks and lamentations, and cursed the name of the Procurator. When the king and the commissioner entered Jerusalem they showed them the plundered shops, and the desolated houses. Neapolitanus was received quietly, and after presenting offerings, in the Court of the Gentiles, exhorted the citizens to continue their allegiance. Agrippa added his own entreaties. He summoned the people to meet him in the Xystos, the royal colonnade, which overlooked the city, and seating himself on a lofty throne with Berenice by his side, he harangued the Jews at length, and held out to them the hope that, in this the extremity of their misery, Nero would send them a milder and juster Procurator, and their miseries would be at an end. He pointed out to them the utter madness of a revolt against the Romans, who had subdued so many nations and kingdoms. He warned them that so hopeless an insurrection could have no possible result except the obliteration of their city and their religion and the desolation of their loved land. As he closed his harangue he burst into tears, and remained weeping, while Berenice stood weeping at his side. The people, moved by his eloquence, and the thought of their

hopeless present misery and imminent peril, wept with them, and promised to pay the tribute. As a sign of their renewed allegiance, they agreed to restore the passage from the Castle Antonia to the Temple, their destruction of which was, as Agrippa pointed out to them, little short of an open declaration of war.

They began the work at once, and for one moment it might have seemed as if Jerusalem was saved. Agrippa and Berenice did their utmost to encourage them; but, in another harangue, Agrippa, while commending their repentance, urged them to continue their allegiance to Florus until Nero should send another Procurator. The maddening name of Florus was too much for this strange, excitable people. They broke out into open maledictions. From curses on the name of Florus they passed to insults against Agrippa himself, his sister, his whole house. From insults they proceeded to stone-throwing, and passionately ordered him to leave the city. He did so, with a feeling of indignation and despair. Soon afterwards the Zealots seized the fortress of Masada, put the Roman garrison to the sword, and openly unfurled the standard of revolt. Eleazar, son of the ex-High Priest Ananias, persuaded the people—contrary to immemorial custom—to reject henceforth all heathen offerings, even those of the Emperor. The peaceful party remonstrated in vain, and Agrippa sent them a reinforcement of 3000 soldiers, who occupied the upper city. But the lower city and the Temple remained in the hands of the insurgents, who in some of the now daily conflicts, joined with the Sicarii, burnt the palace of Agrippa and the public offices which contained the debtors' bonds. There they were joined by Menahem, the son of the robber fanatic Judas of Galilee, who assumed the airs of a king, besieged the Castle Antonia, butchered the garrison, besieged the Herodian palace, now used as the Procurator's Prætorium, and murdered the Chief Priest Annas, and his brother Hezekiah, who were found concealed in it. After this Menahem was

slain by the adherents of Eleazar, and when the palace was taken, the Roman soldiers were massacred on a Sabbath day, in spite of the oath of the Jews to the contrary. The only one whom they spared was the commander Metilius, who, with base pusillanimity, saved his life by accepting circumcision and embracing Judaism.

There could be no peace till these outrages were avenged, and now (A.D. 66) began the Jewish War, of which the details in no way belong to this narrative, since they do not touch on the story of the Herods. Agrippa, and other allied kings, attended Cestius when he advanced with his forces, and restored quiet in Galilee. Agrippa, still deeply anxious for peace, sent two envoys, Borceus and Phoebus, to the Jews, offering them, in the name of Cestius, an amnesty for their past offences, and entreating them to lay down their arms. Their only reply was to kill Phoebus and wound Borceus. Their fanaticism was stimulated by the fact that the extraordinary dilatoriness and incompetence of Cestius enabled them to inflict upon him defeat after defeat, which, after the disaster of his army at Beth Horon, ended in utter rout. Such a disgrace to the Roman arms was unparalleled, except by such awful catastrophes as those which had befallen Crassus in Parthia and Varus amid the Teutonic forests. Nero, at last alarmed out of his frivolity, sent Vespasian to put down this formidable rebellion. The defence of Galilee by Josephus, his betrayal, his marvellous escape, his prophecy to Vespasian that he should succeed to the Empire, the sieges of Jotapata, Taricheæ, Gamala, and other towns, the frightful battles and massacres which crimsoned the Lake of Gennezareth, and made the streets of the cities flow with blood—all this must be read in the vivid pages of the Jewish historian, who knew how to make his peace with the Romans in good time, and to secure their protection if not their respect. During the whole time, Vespasian was attended by Agrippa, whose name, however, is scarcely mentioned, beyond the fact that he, like the Romans them-

selves, sold into slavery those of the numberless prisoners whom Vespasian handed over to his jurisdiction. Throughout the whole war he continued the unflinching and unwavering friend of the Romans. He was, as we have said, with Cestius Gallus in his advance against Jerusalem. He was not in Palestine from the defeat of Gallus to the advance of Vespasian, but was represented first by Varus, then by Modius. In A.D. 67 he awaited at Antioch the advance of Vespasian. After that time he seems to have remained continuously in his camp, and afterwards to have followed the movements of the army of Titus.

John of Giscala, who had been noted as an intrepid leader in Galilee, made good his escape to Jerusalem. The doomed and wretched city was torn by contending factions of Zealots, Idumeans, Sicarii, and every class of brutal fanatic. The people became familiarised with scenes of unspeakable horror and blasphemy.* The dead lay unburied in the streets. The Temple itself was stained by incessant fighting and bloodshed. The High Priest Ananias was murdered, and every law of God and of man was openly violated. Meanwhile, in A.D. 68, Vespasian conquered Peræa. The Jews were attacked by his officer Placidus, and the river and the Dead Sea were filled with the bodies of the slain.

During this year he was elected Emperor, and as this had been prophesied by Josephus, he released him from his chains. After leaving Egypt he sailed to Rome, and left his brave son Titus to complete the conquest of Judæa. The city was in the hands of three furiously warring factions. Eleazar, in possession of the inner Temple, supported his followers upon

* "As a counterpoise to John of Giscala, the citizens had received the guerilla captain, Simon bar Gioras, into the city: the two were now at feud with each other, but were alike in their rapacity towards the citizens. John occupied the Temple, Simon the upper city lying over against it on the West. For a short time a third entered into competition with the two rivals—a certain Eleazar, who had separated from John and established himself in the inner Temple. But just as Titus was beginning the siege (Easter 70) John contrived to get rid of this interloper" (Wellhausen's *History of Isr. and Jud.*, p. 181).

its stores of provisions, and suffered them to intoxicate themselves with its wines. Many of them were killed even at the altars by the adherents of John of Giscala, who occupied Bezetha, and who had also to fight with the men of Simon, son of Gioras, who occupied the upper, and part of the lower city. In these internecine conflicts many streets were burnt and large stores of provisions wantonly or accidentally destroyed.

In A.D. 71 Titus advanced against the city, and many of the inhabitants made their escape.* The Christians retired to Pella. John of Giscala during the Passover made himself master of the Temple, and annihilated by massacre the party of Eleazar. In spite of their intestine divisions the Jews repelled the besieging Romans with frantic zeal and indomitable valour, and on both sides many deeds of heroism were performed. When Titus had conquered the outer wall, Josephus harangued the people from outside the city, but was driven back by arrows. The Jews, terrified by the huge catapults, balistas, and movable towers of the Romans, retired behind the inner wall. The inner wall was only mastered with difficulty and danger, and the tower of Antonia was then besieged. Many Jews swallowed their money and escaped. They fell into the hands of robbers, who ripped them open. The famine in the city grew frightful. Houses were broken into and plundered for food. The rich were put to death by false witness to give an excuse for robbery. Martha, the daughter of the wealthy Nikdimon ben Gorion, who when married had received a dower of 1,000,000 gold denarii, was seen trying to pick grains of corn from the dung in the streets.† Citizens were tortured to reveal where they had hidden food. The brains of children were dashed out against the walls. Mothers devoured their infants. The excesses committed in the city were so unspeakably abominable as to seem as if they

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* *See* Matthew xxiv. 15, 20.
† Kethuboth, f. 66, 2.

demanded the instant vengeance of Heaven. The bodies of the dead were flung over the wall unburied, and Titus himself wept to see the glens choked with corpses. Even the soldiers of the Jews became almost too much weakened by hunger to fight, and could only get to the walls over mounds of putrefying remains. The miserable inhabitants were reduced to the frightful extremes which had been threatened by Rabshakeh, seven centuries before, in the days of Hezekiah. Such complications of horror had not been heard of since the world began. The tower of Antonia was at last taken and destroyed, and the Romans assaulted the Temple, while John of Giscala, encouraging his fanatics with the promise that God's house and city would inevitably be saved at last by miraculous intervention, contemptuously rejected the overtures made to him by Titus through Josephus. Then the outer Court of the Temple was taken, and its cloisters burnt. It is said that Titus was sincerely desirous to save the Temple as a magnificent ornament to the Roman Empire, but one of his soldiers flung a firebrand through an opening, and the whole building was soon a mass of flames. Titus exerted himself to the utmost to induce the soldiers to stop the conflagration, but in vain. The Jews fought with the inextinguishable fury of despair. The marble pavements streamed with torrents of blood; blood hissed in the scorching flames.

> "As mid the cedar courts and gates of gold
> The trampled ranks in miry carnage rolled,
> To save their Temple every hand essayed,
> And with cold fingers grasped the feeble blade;
> Through their torn veins reviving fury ran
> And life's last anger warmed the dying man."

So perished the Temple which, with the exception of the period of the Babylonian exile, had stood on that spot for a thousand years. So immense were the spoils that gold in Syria fell to half its value.

But the horrors of the siege were not yet over. The lower city was now taken, pillaged, and given up to fire and sword, though Titus spared the sons and brothers of King Izates of Adiabene. Then the upper city fell. Captives were so numerous that troops of Jews were sold as slaves almost for nothing, and 40,000 were dismissed because no purchasers could be induced to buy them. The houses were found to be full of dead bodies, and when Titus saw the almost impregnable strength of the fortifications, he attributed his victory to the wrath of God against the guilty city, which was now all but totally depopulated and destroyed. The subterranean caverns were crowded with fugitives who had fled thither to conceal themselves. Among them was Simon, son of Giora, who gave himself up, and was taken, with all the handsomest boys who were under seventeen, to grace the triumph of the conqueror at Rome. Others were sent to the Egyptian mines. Twelve thousand died in one day, either from lack of food or because they refused to taste it. During the war 97,000 are said to have been taken prisoners, and a million Jews perished. Titus celebrated the birthday of Vespasian at Berytus, and there multitudes more of the wretched captives were thrown to the wild beasts in the amphitheatre, or compelled to hack each other to death in gladiatorial combats.

> "But heavier far the fettered captive's doom
> To glut with sighs the iron ear of Rome;
> To flesh the lion's ravenous jaws or feel
> The sportive fury of the fencer's steel;
> To swell, slow pacing by the car's tall side,
> The stoic tyrant's philosophic pride,
> Or pant deep-plunged beneath the sultry mine
> For the light gales of balmy Palestine."

We must earnestly hope that Agrippa, in spite of his cosmopolitan *insouciance*, was not present at the cruel and splendid games exhibited by Titus at Cæsarea Philippi to

commemorate his exterminating triumph over Agrippa's people.*

When Jerusalem fell, Judæa Captiva—now a woman weeping under her palm-tree in utter desolation, as she is represented on the coins of Titus—became a separate Roman province under Cerealis. The last three fortresses to hold out were Herodion, Machaerus, and Masada, which the Zealots defended with desperate valour. The fall of Machaerus was inexpressibly tragic: for when further defence became impossible Eleazar and his fellow Zealots massacred with their own hands their wives and children, and then fell by each other's swords, till the last survivor drove his sword into his own breast. The Roman soldiers who burst into the fort found it silent as death, and on the ground lay 900 corpses. The fall of Masada (April 73) ended the Jewish rebellion.

The magnificent triumph of the conqueror is represented on the still existing Arch of Titus at Rome. John of Giscala, Simon bar Gioras, and 700 captives walked before his car. The golden candlestick and table of shewbread are conspicuously sculptured on the Arch. These, with many other tables and vessels of gold, and the jewelled robes of the High Priest, were given to Titus by a priest named Jesus, son of Thebuthus, on condition that his life was spared. Among the spoils were many other priestly robes and girdles, and stores of cinnamon, cassia, and spices, given to Titus by Phinehas, the treasurer of the Temple.

With all these events Agrippa II. had little or no concern. In B.C. 75 he went to Rome, where he lived with his sister Berenice, with whom, in spite of her dubious reputation, Titus was so madly in love that, but for the open murmurs of the Romans, he would have made her his Empress. Finding in B.C. 79 that Titus, when he became Emperor, took no further notice of her, she retired to

* Josephus, *B. J.*, vii. 2, 1.

Palestine, and we hear no more about her. On her way she stopped at Athens, where an inscription in her honour still exists.*

When Josephus published his *Wars of the Jews* he sent a copy to Agrippa. The king had given him much information, and wrote him a friendly and approving letter in return for his book, congratulating him on his accurate knowledge of the events. Altogether, Josephus boasts, he had received no less than sixty-two letters from the king. Agrippa seems to have attained a peaceful old age, living inglorious and unnoticed at Rome. The year of his death is unknown, but probably he died in the third year of Trajan, A.D. 100. He left no children,† and his kingdom was incorporated in the Province of Syria. With him the Asmonæans and the Herods disappear from the page of history, which few of them unhappily had much adorned. The last Herodian prince of whom we hear was a young Agrippa, nephew of Agrippa II., a son of Drusilla and Felix, who (as I have already mentioned) perished in the awful eruption of Vesuvius, which destroyed the dissolute Campanian cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum ‡ —veritable Cities of the Plain. In this devastating eruption, in the fearful pestilence which devastated Italy, and in the flames which destroyed the Capitol and laid a great part of the imperial city in ashes, it was natural that the Jews should read the signs of Heaven's wrath against the ruthless conquerors who had devoured their land and all but exterminated its miserable inhabitants.

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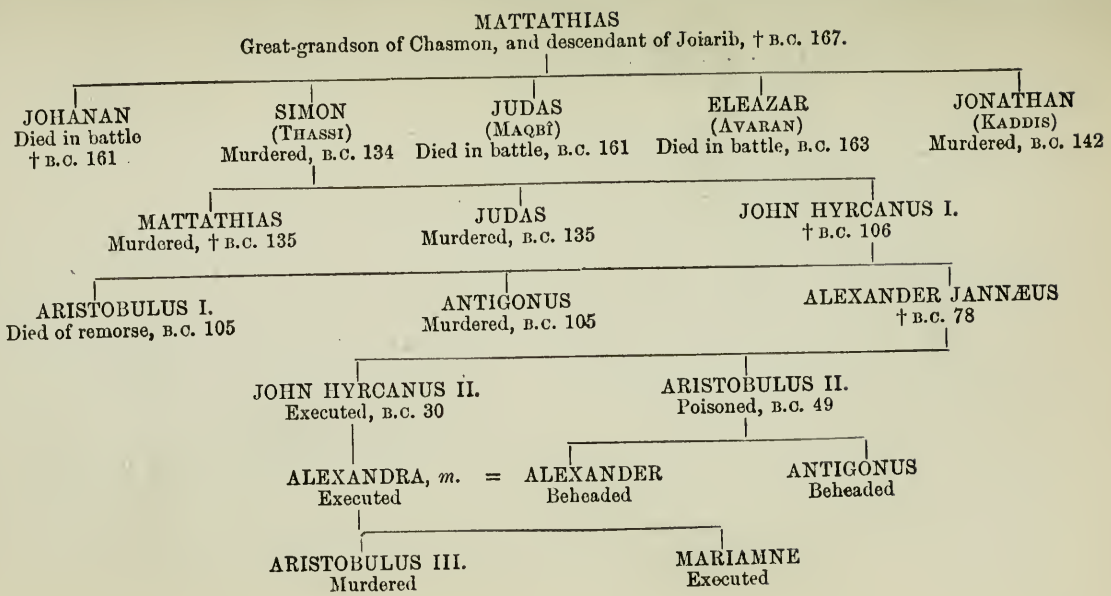
* *Corp. Inscr. Grace.*, n. 361.

† It is not even certain whether he was married or not, though it has been precariously inferred from a passage in the Talmud (Bab. Succa, 2, 1) that he had two wives (Derenbourg, p. 252).

‡ Josephus, *Antt.* xx. 7, 2.

APPENDIX

GENEALOGY OF THE ASMONÆAN OR MACCABÆAN FAMILY.

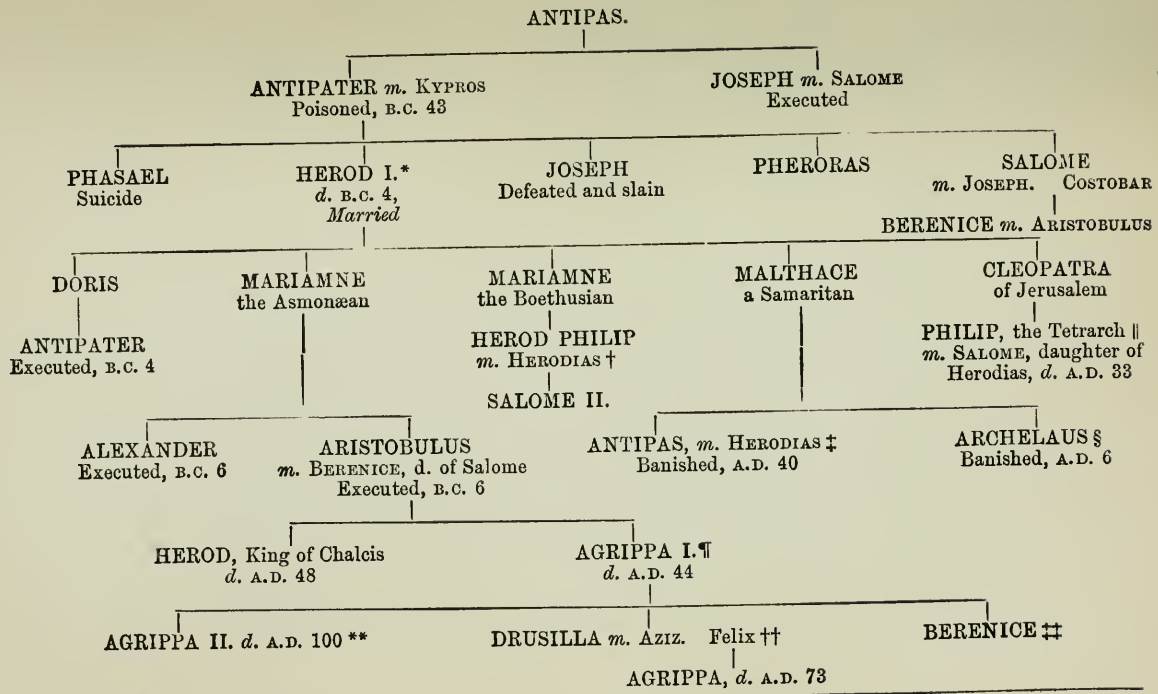


CHRONOLOGY.

(*Many of the dates cannot be ascertained with exact certainty*).

	B.C.
Return from the Exile	536
Ezra	459
Nehemiah	445
Antiochus the Great conquers Palestine	219
Judas Maccabæus	165-161
Jonathan	161-143
Year of Liberation	141
Simon	142-135
John Hyrcanus	135-105
Takes Samaria	109
Aristobulus I.	105-104
Alexander Jannæus	104-78
Alexandra	78-69
Aristobulus II.	69-63
Pompey subjugates Judæa	63
Syria a Province under the Romans	
M. Æmil. Scaurus	65-62
Marcius Philippus	61-60
Lentulus Marcellinus	59-58
A. Gabinius	59-55
M. Licin. Crassus	54-53
Plunders the Temple	54
C. Cass. Longinus	53-51
M. Calpurnius Bibulus	51-50
Veiento	50-49
Q. Metellus Scipio	49-48
Sextus Cæsar	47-46
Antipater appointed Governor	47
Cæcilius Bassus	46
Q. Cornificius	45
L. Stat. Murcus	44
C. Cass. Longinus	44-41
Decid. Saxas	41-40
Jerusalem taken by Parthians	40
P. Ventidius	39-38

GENEALOGY OF THE HERODS.



* Luke i.; Matt. ii.
† Matt. xiv. 3.
‡ Matt. xiv.; Luke iii., ix., xxii.
§ Matt. ii. 22; Luke xix. 12-27.
‖ Luke iii. 1.
¶ Acts xii.
** Acts xxv., xxvi.
†† Acts xxiv. 24.
‡‡ Acts xxv. 13; xxvi. 31.

KINGS OF SYRIA.

	B.C.
Ptolemy I. (Soter)	320
Beginnings of the Dispersion at Alexandria, Cyrene, etc.	320
Beginnings of the Septuagint Translation	280
Antiochus III. the Great	223
Ptolemy IV. (Philopator) defeats Antiochus at Raphia	217
Antiochus takes Jerusalem	203
Scopas recovers Jerusalem from Ptolemy	199
Antiochus recovers it at Paneas	198
Heliodorus enters the Temple	186
Seleucus Philopator	186
Antiochus IV. (Epiphanes)	175
Severities of Apollonius	168
Rise of the Chasidim	167
First Successes of Judas the Maccabæan	166
Re-dedication of the Temple	165
Antiochus V. (Eupator)	164
Demetrius I. (Soter)	162
Alexander Balas	150
Demetrius II. (Nicator)	145
Antiochus VI. (Theos)	144
Tryphon	143
Antiochus VII. (Sidetes)	140
Demetrius (Nicator II.)	130

CHRONOLOGY—THE PROCURATORS.

	A.D.
1. Archelaus, as Ethnarch	6
2. Coponius	9
3. M. Ambivius	9
4. Annius Rufus	13
5. Valerius Gratus	14
6. Pontius Pilate	25
7. Marcellus	36
8. King Agrippa I.	39
9. Cuspius Fadus	44
10. Tiberius Alexander	46
11. Ventidius Cumanus	48
12. Antonius Felix	52
13. Porcius Festus	60
14. Albinus	62
15. Gessius Florus *	64

* Schürer has carefully investigated the Chronology, and the above dates represent his conclusions, though they are not always certain as to the exact year.

EMPERORS OF ROME.

	B.C.
Julius Cæsar, First Triumvirate	60
Battle of Pharsalia	48
Second Triumvirate	43
Battle of Philippi	42
Battle of Actium	31
Augustus	27
	A.D.
Tiberius as Colleague { Quirinius completes the Registration }	8-12
Tiberius, Emperor	14
——— The Crucifixion	31
——— Martyrdom of Stephen	36
Gaius (Caligula) Conversion of St Paul	37
Claudius	41
——— Martyrdom of St James	44
Nero	54
——— Burning of Rome	64
Galba	68
Otho, Vitellius	69
Vespasian	69
——— Destruction of Jerusalem	70
Titus	79
Domitian	81

HIGH PRIESTS.*

	B.C.
Joshua	
Joiakim†	499
Eliashib	463
Joiada	419
Johannes	383
Jaddua	351
Onias I.	
Simon the Great, or the Just	310
Eleazar	291
Manasses	276
Onias II.	250
Simon II.	219
Onias III.	199
Jason	175
Menelaus	172
Judas Maccabæus‡	167
Alcimus	162
Jonathan	153
Simon	143
John Hyrcanus	135
Aristobulus	106
Jannæus	105
Hyrcanus II. (Nominated by Herod the Great) .	79
Aristobulus II. ,, ,, .	70
Hyrcanus III. ,, ,, .	
Antigonus ,, ,, .	
Hananeel ,, ,, .	37
Aristobulus ,, ,, .	35
Hananeel (a second time) ,, ,, .	37
Jesus ben Phabi ,, ,, .	

* Partly from the *Chronicon Paschale*. The dates and lengths of office are uncertain (Ewald v. 124; Schürer, *Die Priesten im Neuen Testamente* [*Stud. u. Krit.* 1872]; *Jewish People*, ii. 1, 197-202).

† The High Priests succeeded regularly from Joiakim, B.C. 499, down to Jason, B.C. 175.

‡ The Asmonæan High Priests lasted from Judas Maccabæus B.C. 187, to Aristobulus, B.C. 35.

			B.C.
Simon ben Boethos	(Nominated by Herod the Great)		25
Matthias	,,	,,	5
Joseph	,,	,,	
Joazar ben Boethos	,,	,,	4
Eleazar	,,	Archelaus	4
Jesus ben Siè	,,	,,	
Joazar (a second time)	,,	,,	
			A.D.
Hanan (Annas)	,,	Quirinius	6
Ishmael ben Phabi	,,	Valerius Gratus	15
Eleazar ben Hanan	,,	,,	16
Simon ben Kamhith	,,	,,	17
Joseph Kaiaphas	,,	,,	18
Jonathan ben Hanan	,,	Vitellius	36
Theophilus	,,	,,	37
Simon Kantheras	,,	Agrippa I.	41
Matthias ben Hanan	,,	,,	
Elionæus ben Kantheras	,,	,,	
Joseph ben Kamhith	,,	Herod of Chalcis	44
Ananias	,,	,,	47
Ishmael ben Phabi (the younger)	,,	Agrippa II.	50
Joseph Kabi	,,	,,	61
Hanan ben Hanan	,,	,,	62
Jesus ben Damnai	,,	,,	62
Jesus ben Gamaliel	,,	,,	63
Matthias ben Theophilus	,,	,,	65
Phannias	(Appointed by the people)		67

Matthias was the last genuine High Priest; but during the siege the people, with blasphemous defiance, elected as High Priest a certain Phannias, son of Samuel.

The Talmud says (quite unhistorically): "The number of High Priests who officiated in succession during the 410 years of the continuance of the first Temple was only 18; but during the 420 years of the second Temple there were more than 300, most of them having died within a year after their entrance upon office (Yoma, f. 9., 1). They quote this as an illustration of Prov. x. 27.

JEWISH SECTS.

THE distinctive characters of Judaism date, as we have said, from the Return of Ezra to Jerusalem. Up to that time the Jews had been repeatedly tempted to apostasise into idolatry. Of that temptation they were cured for ever by the sufferings of the Captivity. The new temptation to which they gradually succumbed was that of Formalism, and its final results—ending in the overthrow of Jewish independence for ever—were the Crucifixion of Christ, and the events to which it led in the world's history.

Soon after the Return from the Exile, the last notes of Hebrew Prophecy died away in the feebler strains of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, and the Scribes, or *Sopherim*, began to occupy the place of the great Nebiim of the earlier epoch. The first prominent scribe was Ezra. He is accurately described (Ezra vii. 10) as one who "had prepared (or directed) his heart to seek the law of the Lord, and to do it, and to teach in Israel statutes and judgments." The title "Scribes" was to a great extent identical with the later title of "lawyers," or "teachers of the law" (*νομοδιδάσκαλο*) and rabbis. They made not the slightest pretence to prophecy or to any power of revealing inspiration. Their function was to systematise and to interpret, and this function became more and more important as the conception of the "Canon" of Scripture became more definite.

I.

The sect of SAMARITANS arose mainly from the trouble caused by the tendency of the returned Exiles to contract "mixed marriages," *i.e.* marriage with aliens. The Samaritans were nationally descended in great measure from the Assyrian and other colonists who had been imported into the depopulated country by Esarhaddon (B.C. 677) and

Asnapper.* An account of these settlers is given in 2 Kings xxiii. 15-20.† They adopted a mixed cult—fearing Jehovah, yet worshipping other gods (2 Kings xvii. 33). Thus they were not recognised as Jews. Our Lord calls them "aliens" (ἀλλογενεῖς, Matt. x. 5, 6; Luke xvii. 18) and Josephus calls them "residents from other nations" (μέτοικοι ἀλλοεθνεῖς, *Antt.* ix. 14, 3). For this reason, together with their dubious orthodoxy, the Jews rejected their assistance when they wished to have a share in rebuilding the Temple (Ezra iv. 1-5). In the age-long feuds which followed, the Samaritans worried the Jews by plundering their pilgrims and misleading them by false beacon-fires, and are said on one occasion to have got secret entrance into the Temple, and scattered it with dead bones. The Jews repaid them with bitter hatred, ranking them with demoniacs, and accusing them of worshipping the idols which Jacob had buried under Allon Meonenim, the "Oak-Tree of Sorcerers" (Gen. xxv. 4). They would have no dealings with them (John iv. 8); corrupted the name Sichem into Sychar (Shicorîm, Isa. xxviii. 1, 7) to connect it with "drink," and spoke of them as "the foolish people that dwell at Sichem" (Ecclus. i. 25, 26; John viii. 1-8). Even our Lord said to the woman of Samaria, "Ye worship ye know not what" (John iv. 22), though He always treated them and spoke of them with extreme kindness (Luke ix. 54).

Ultimately, however, they entirely abandoned all idolatrous practices and accepted the Pentateuch, though in a form and with a chronology which differed from that of the Jews. They still retained among the Jews the contemptuous designation of "Cuthites."

The last High Priest mentioned in the Old Testament is Jaddua, in the days of Alexander the Great (B.C. 333). He had a brother named Manasseh, who married Nicaso, a daughter of Sanballat, the satrap of Samaria under Darius Codomannus. The Jews required Manasseh to repudiate

* Ezra iv. 16.

† In the Old Testament the word "Samaritan" only occurs in 2 Kings vii. 29.

his wife, but Sanballat induced him to become High Priest of a new Temple built on Mount Gerizim.*

II.

In the days of Antiochus Epiphanes the CHASIDIM (Assidæans, "Pietists") came into prominence as that body of religious Jews who, headed by Mattathias and Judas the Maccabee, determined to strike a blow for their religion and their nationality.†

This party gradually split into three divisions, who, as Dr S. Green well points out, represent respectively the isolation and exaggeration (1) of obedience degenerating into formalism; (2) of morals degenerating into the abnegation of the supernatural; and (3) of self-control ending in mystical asceticism.

The PHARISEES were those who, from their greater strictness in observing the smallest particulars of the Mosaic Law, acquired the name of "Separatists" (*Perushim*).‡ They not only accepted the written Law, but also the traditional or oral Law, for which they claimed—though without the least basis—an equal antiquity. They believed in a Divine Providence, and in the Immortality of the Soul. They believed that after death the soul passes into conditions of peace or punishment, which they symbolised under the names of Paradise (*Ganeden*) and Hell (*Gî Hinnom*). They also believed in angels and spirits, with whose existence they had become more familiar among the Persians, from whose

* There may be some confusion between the Manasseh mentioned by Josephus (*Antt.* xi. 8, 2, and 6) and the priest mentioned in Nehemiah xiii. 28, a century earlier (about B.C. 409), who was a son of the High Priest Joiada, and married a daughter of Sanballat, the Horonite, in the reign of Darius Nothus. The view of Josephus is supported in the Arabic *Chrestomathia* of Silvestre de Sacy (i. 338), and by Eusebius in his *Chronicon*. (Munk, *Palestine*, p. 483).

† Mighty men of Israel, "voluntarily devoted to the Law" (1 Macc. ii. 42; vii. 13-17; 2 Macc. xv. 6; A.V. "saints," in Ps. cxlix. 9).

‡ St Clement calls them ἀφωρισμένοι (Hom. xi. 28; Josephus, *Antt.* xviii. 1, 3; *B. J.*, ii. 8, 2-14). Josephus was himself a Pharisee (Vit. 2), as had been St Paul (Acts xxii. 3; xxiii. 6; xxvi. 5, etc.) The name involves a reference to the days of "mingling with the Gentiles" (2 Macc. xiv. 3, 38; Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 226). *See* Jost, i. 196; Herzfeld, iii. 358; Grätz, iii. 508; Ewald, iv. 485.

angelology and demonology some details of the popular belief were incorporated, as we see in the Book of Enoch.* They regarded it as their chief function "to make a hedge round the Law." † Their tenets ended in arrogance, exclusiveness, and selfish individualism, together with national isolation. ‡ Their main rites, opinions, and traditions—their Haggadoth, or "moral legends," and Halachoth, or "Ceremonial rules" —fill the Mishna (Second Law, δευτέρωσις) and the Talmud. They were specially popular among women, who regarded them as the only "religious," and rejoiced in "the abdication of the reason" involved in accepting their guidance. § They attached immense importance to ablutions, to Sabbatism, and to every possible rule about "clean" (*tahor*) and unclean (*tamê*). To read some of the Talmudic treatises one might suppose that nothing was more important than the threads of Tzitzith (tassels), the boxes on doorposts (Mezuzoth), and the exact proportions of phylacteries (Tôtaphôth).

The arrogance and hypocrisy into which they degenerated, and the attitude of haughty superiority which they adopted towards the *Amharatsîm*, or "people of the land," ‖ "unlearned and ignorant men, whose talk is of oxen," with whom they would not even eat or drink, are denounced by our Lord in the Gospels (Luke xviii. 10). They superciliously thanked God "that they were not as other men are." Even in the Talmud, though it is predominantly Pharisaic, a great distinction is drawn between true and "painted" Pharisees. ¶ But it required the dawn of the Gospel to

* Respecting the Izeds (or "Heavenly Messengers"), the seven "Amshaspandas," or Archangels, under Ormuzd; the Deus under Ahriman.

† Josephus, *Antt.* xiii. 16, 6.

‡ Thus Joses ben Joezer and Joses ben Johanan tended to isolate the Jews still more by forbidding all use of glass, because it was made in pagan lands (Shabbath, i. 7).

§ Josephus, *Antt.* xvii. 11, 4. οἷς ὑπῆκτο ἡ γυναικωνῖτις.

‖ On the other hand, "a pupil of the wise" was called a Chabes.

¶ For the seven classes of Pharisees (of whom even the Talmud represents six as bad), *see* my *Life of Christ*, i. 441, and Exc. ix. They are the Shechemite, or self-interested Pharisee; the trembling; the bleeding; the mortar; the timid Pharisee; and the tell-me-another-duty-and-I-will-do-it Pharisee (Bab. Sot., f. 22, 2; Berachoth, ix.).

imbathe men's souls in the sweetness of Heaven, before dead legalism and fetichistic letter-worship could be animated into even the semblance of life. Men reared up a blank wall of ordinances between their souls and God. Afraid even to pronounce the sacred name—the ineffable Tetragrammaton—they first substituted for it the letters of Elohim; then read Adonai instead of it. Thus the due pronunciation of the Shem Hammephorash was gradually forgotten. God was relegated into the indefinite distance, and inane superstitions were substituted into His place. The reason why the Pharisees made the proselytes, for whom they compassed heaven and earth, tenfold more the children of hell than themselves, was because they had degraded religion into a tangle of niggling opinions and a huddle of nugatory practices.

III.

The SADDUCEES were pronounced opponents of the Pharisees.* They rejected oral tradition altogether. They only gave a secondary authority to the prophetic books. They believed neither in angel nor spirit.† They insisted on the freedom of the will. They did not accept the doctrines of resurrection and immortality‡ or Divine Providence. They were accused of a spirit of greater severity than that of the Pharisees in legal punishments; for instance, in the *lex tationes*, "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth," etc., the Pharisees admitted the substitution of a pecuniary fine, which the Sadducees would not allow.§ The people accused them of having "hot hands," *i.e.* of being cruel. They attached more importance to worldly success and happiness than to future hopes. They never had the same influence over the

* *See* Josephus, *Antt.* xiii. 5, 9; *B. J.*, ii. 8, 14; Matt. iii. 7; xvi. 1, 6, 11, 12; xxii. 23, 24; Mark xii. 18; Luke xxii. 27; Acts iv. 1; v. 17; xxiii. 6, 7, 8.

† They interpreted allegorically the allusions to angels in the Law, since the word מלאך means "messenger."

‡ Because they are not directly mentioned in the Pentateuch (*see* Luke xx. 37). But neither is the direction to pray. In some respects they resembled the Karaites, who adhered only to the written Law.

§ Taanith, 4.

people as their rivals, though, in the days of our Lord, the high-priestly families under the patronage of the Herods were mainly of Sadducean views.* They were on political grounds more directly concerned in the murder of Christ than the milder Pharisees. We only once find them in the Gospels acting in concert with the Pharisees (Matt. xvi. 1, 4). As their stronghold was among the Hierarchy at Jerusalem, our Lord encountered them much less than the Pharisees, and did not denounce them. They are not once mentioned in the Fourth Gospel. They disappear from history before the destruction of Jerusalem.

The origin of the party is uncertain. It is said that Antigonus of Socho, the disciple of Simon the Just, left behind him as his "saying" the view that "We ought to do good for the sake of good only, and not with a view to reward," and that this was interpreted by two of his pupils, Zadok and Boethos, as involving a denial of future rewards and punishments.† The Sadducees *may* be named after this Zadok.‡ Their name can hardly be derived from *Tsaddîk*, "righteousness," for then they would have been called *Tsaddîkin.*

The good side of Sadduceeism was its independence of thought and freedom from petty traditionalism. Its chief temptation was to Hellenism, laxity, and worldliness.

IV.

The Essenes were not so much a sect as an ascetic community.§ They are not mentioned in the Gospels. As the

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* Hence they are sometimes called Boethusim, from Simon ben Boethos, whom Herod the Great made High Priest.

† Matt. xiv. 26 ; xvi. 1, 6 ; xxii. 2, 3 ; Luke xxiv. 37 ; Acts xii. 15. Our Lord regarded them no less than the Pharisees as a "brood of vipers" (Matt. iii. 7).

‡ *Pirke Aboth.* 11, 3; and Maimonides, *ad. loc.* Buxtorf, 5, v. Tsadog; Lightfoot, *His. Hebr.*, in Matt. iii. 8. The story, however, seems to be no older than the very late Aruch of R. Nathan, who refers to the Aboth of an earlier R. Nathan. Others derive the name from the High Priest Zadok (1 Kings i. 32-45).

§ Pliny speaks of them as—"Gens sola et in toto orbe praeter ceteras mira, sine ullâ feminâ, sine pecuniâ, socia palmarum, in qua nemo nascitur."—*H. N.*, v. 17.

Syriac word *Hasaya* means "the pious," it has been thought that they were developed from the Chasidim. The first Essene who occurs in history is mentioned in Josephus (*Antt.* xiii. 11, 2). He calls them Essaei. Some derive the name from Essa, east of the Jordan, or the Wady Haziz; or from *Chasîn*, "vigorous"; or from Jesse, father of David. All is guesswork.

Others derive the name from the Syriac *Asayas*, "a physician," and connect them with the sect described by Philo—if the Treatise on the "Contemplative Life" be his—under the name of *Therapeutæ*, or "physicians of the soul."* They only occupied a few settlements, mostly in or near the desert. They practised community of goods, and divided the occupations of the day between prayers, ablutions, labours, and common meals.† In their austerity, their obedience, and other particulars, they resembled the monastic communities of the Middle Ages. They clothed themselves in white, always carried a spade, were strict Sabbatarians, ate no flesh, and were men of exemplary morals and charity. They offered no sacrifices, amassed no property, and practised universal beneficence. They faced the sun when they prayed, and held themselves entirely superior to Pharisaic traditionalism. They were in possession of certain mysteries, of which some may be preserved in the Jewish Kabbala, which is a system of mystic symbolism, mythic dogma, and speculative philosophy.‡ Their leaders were supposed to be specially gifted with prophetic insight, of which Josephus quotes three instances in the cases of Judas, Menahem, and Simon.§ They were never a large body, but in the days of Josephus and Philo they numbered four thousand. The identification of them with the early Christians is wholly groundless, and many of their views,

* Lightfoot (Introd. to *Ep. Col.*) derives the word from *Chasha*, "to be silent."

† Josephus, *Antt.* xviii. 1, 5; Plin., *H. N.*, v. 17; *see*, further, Gfrörer, *Urchristenthum*, i. 301. The first Essene mentioned is Judas (*Antt.* xiii. 11, 2), about B.C. 110.

‡ Munk, *Palestine*, pp. 315-526.

§ *Antt.* xiii. 11, 2; xv. 10, 4; xvii. 13, 3.

as we see from the Epistle to the Colossians, were entirely opposed to the spirit of genuine Christianity.

V.

In the New Testament the ZEALOTS are only mentioned in the case of "Simon the Zealot," whom our Lord chose as one of His apostles (Luke vi. 15). The name *Kananite* (not as in A.V., "Canaanite," Matt. x. 4) means the same as Zealot, being derived from the Hebrew *Kana*, "to be zealous." The Zealots were the extreme wing of the Nationalist party, who held it to be unlawful to submit to the Romans or to any heathen yoke. Many of the "robbers" or "bandits" of Galilee belonged to this party, as Barabbas may have done. The fiercest and least scrupulous of them afterwards developed into the Sicarii, who did not scruple to resort to secret assassinations. It is remarkable that our Lord chose one of each of the most absolutely opposite extremes—a Zealot and a Publican—to be His apostles; but under His divine spell each character "gave out its peculiar spark of light."

It was not until the Post-exilic epoch that synagogues began to spring up in Palestine. In the New Testament they are called *Proseuchæ*, or "prayer-houses." They were simply local congregations, each under a "ruler of the synagogue" (*Rosh-ha-Keneseth*, ἀρχισυνάγωγος), an officiating minister (*Sheliach Kibbur*), and a subordinate clerk (*Chazzan*, ὑπηρέτης, Luke iv. 20) who took charge of the sacred books.* Every synagogue had a children's school attached to it; and the rabbis also kept open schools. They were not paid, but supported themselves by the trades which every young Jew had to learn.

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* Shabbath, 1, 3.

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